

**Studies in the Lexicography of
Ancient Egyptian Buildings
and their parts.**

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to attempt to clarify the meanings of the various terms used by the ancient Egyptians to describe the architectural elements which constituted an Egyptian temple. It consists of discussions of a total of fifty-seven nouns which have, in the past, been translated by general terms such as "shrine", "hall", "column" and "wall". Each of the terms is discussed individually, and the entries are arranged according to the order of the Egyptian alphabet.

Each entry consists of a detailed review of the evidence for the history and development of the meaning of the term, comparing, where possible, the textual evidence with the plans of surviving temple-remains. The etymology of each term, if known, is noted together with any relationship it may have had to a similar term in another language. Each discussion is preceded by examples of the various hieroglyphic writings of the term at different periods.

Most of the terms studied in this work have never before been thoroughly investigated, and even those which had been studied previously were often still poorly understood and, in some cases, mistranslated. The main result of this study has been to trace the developments and changes in meaning of the terms included, and for some terms it has been possible either to suggest new translations or to produce further evidence in support of a previously-suggested translation which had not gained general acceptance.

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- ASAE Annales du Service des Antiquités de L'Egypte.
- Barguet, Temple. Barguet, P., Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak, (Cairo, 1962).
- Beiträge Bf. Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde.
- BIFAO Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale.
- Borchardt, Baugeschichte, Borchardt, L., Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak, (Leipzig, 1905).
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- Ch. d'Eg. Chronique d'Egypte.
- CRIPPEL Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Egyptologie de Lille.
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- Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu. Hölscher, U., The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II-V, (Chicago, 1939-1954).
- JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.
- JEA The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
- Jéquier, Architecture, L'Architecture et la decoration dans l'ancienne Egypte, 3 volumes, (Paris, 1920-1924).
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
- KRI Kitchen, K.A., Ramesside Inscriptions, historical and biographical, 7 volumes, (Oxford, 1975 continuing).

- LD Lepsius, C.R., Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, 12 volumes, (Berlin, 1849-1859).
- LDT Lepsius, C.R., Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Text, 5 volumes, (Berlin, 1897-1913).
- MDAIK Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo.
- MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.
- Piehl, Inscriptions, Piehl, K., Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies (en Europe et) en Egypte, 3 series, (Leipzig, 1886-1903).
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- PM Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B., Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, IV-VII, (Oxford, 1934-1951), 2nd. edition, I-II, (Oxford, 1960-1972), III, (J.Malek), (Oxford, 1974-1979).
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- PSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
- Pyr. Pyramid Texts. Sethe, K., Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte, 2 volumes, (Leipzig, 1908-1910). Faulkner, R.O., The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts, (Oxford, 1969).
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- Rev. d'Eg. Revue d'Egyptologie.
- SAK Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur.
- Sauneron, Esna, III. Sauneron, S., Le Temple d'Esna (Esna, III), (Cairo, 1968).
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- Urk., VII, Sethe, K., Historisch-Biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches, I, (Leipzig, 1935).
- Urk., VIII, Firchow, O., Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus Griechisch-Römischer Zeit, I, (Berlin, 1957).
- Wb., Erman, A. and Grapow, H., Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache, 5 volumes, (Leipzig, 1926-1931).
- Wb. Belegstellen, Erman, A. and Grapow, H., Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache, Die Belegstellen, 5 volumes, (Leipzig, 1937-1951).
- ZÄS Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.

Introduction

The value of lexicographical studies into the language of the ancient Egyptians was stressed by Gardiner in the preface to his Onomastica¹ 2 and also in a review-article on the first two pages of the Wörterbuch. In the latter study of only twenty words Gardiner found "all but three urgently calling for further elucidation" 3 and stated; "In my considered opinion lexicography is among the most important tasks still confronting the student of the Egyptian language in its various phases".⁴

Despite this, very few lexicographical studies have been undertaken since, and only two major works in this field have been published; Harris's "Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals"⁵ and Graefe's "Untersuchungen zur Wörtlfamilie b3." ⁶ Harris, in the introduction to his study stresses the continuing need for further lexicographical research.⁷

There are many categories of terms for which a comparative study would be of great value. This work concentrates on those nouns which were applied to the elements which constituted an Egyptian temple. The original intention was to undertake a review of terms relating to all the different types of building in ancient Egypt, religious, secular and funerary. It soon became apparent, however, that this would involve the inclusion of almost five-hundred terms; a number far too great to be studied in the detail required to trace the history of each term and elucidate its meaning. The nouns applied to elements in temple architecture were selected as they appeared to be those most likely to provide rewarding results. The reasons for this are self-evident. There are many more extant texts which describe Egyptian temples than which deal with houses or palaces, and there are more surviving temples than any other type of building.⁸ It has, therefore, been possible to compare contemporary descriptions of temples with the standing monuments, showing a far greater degree of accuracy in the application of the terminology than might have been expected.

There have been several valuable studies on terms for temple-parts. Some of the nouns included here are discussed in Gardiner's commentary to the Onomastica⁹ and a list of architectural terms, with their usual translations, is given by Badawy.¹⁰ Christophe

has studied those terms which occur in Papyrus Harris I¹¹ and Posener-Kriéger those which are found in the Abusir Papyri.¹² Another valuable work is Barguet's study of the temple of Amun at Karnak.¹³ In addition, there are many detailed discussions of individual terms to be found in commentaries on the texts in which they occur. These are too numerous to be listed here but each is noted in the appropriate place.

One main problem confronting any lexicographer, particularly when dealing with an ancient language, the knowledge of which was lost for many centuries, is the varied nature of the textual evidence that is available for study. Although a large amount of written material has survived from ancient Egypt, it can only be a fraction of what once existed, with the result that a term may seem not to have been in use at a particular period when, in fact, the type of text in which it occurs simply has not survived. For the temple-terms under discussion here, this is particularly true of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

Another problem is that it is necessary to assume that each term did have a specific meaning originally and that the ancient writers usually, if not always, applied it correctly. This may not have been the case, but without these basic assumptions any lexicographical study would be impracticable.

New words which entered the Egyptian language subsequent to the Twentieth Dynasty have been excluded from this study, although the history of pre-existing terms has been traced down to the Ptolemaic period. Words which came to be used to describe administrative departments, rather than actual built structures, have also been largely omitted, since they would require a separate study of a different nature. The main exceptions to this are pr and hwt which could not be excluded from a work on temple-terms.

Since the terms discussed here are arranged alphabetically, they have been omitted from the Egyptian Index. The only other indexes of value to this work seemed to be one of architectural hieroglyphs and a Topographical Index.

- 1 Gardiner, Onom., I, ix-xxi.
- 2 Gardiner, JEA 34 (1948), 12-18.
- 3 Ibid., 17.
- 4 Ibid., 12.
- 5 (Berlin, 1961).
- 6 (Cologne, 1971).
- 7 Harris, Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals, 9-18.
- 8 The exception to this is, of course, Egyptian funerary monuments, tombs and pyramids. Terms which relate specifically to such structures were among the first to be omitted from this study since they form a distinct group and require separate investigation. Mortuary temples, since they, by and large, conform to the standard plan of an Egyptian cultus-temple, have been included.
- 9 Gardiner, Onom., II, 204*-219*.
- 10 Badawy, A History of Egyptian Architecture, 257-260.
- 11 Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc.4. 17-29.
- 12 Posener-Kriéger, Archives Néferirkarê, passim, esp., II, 429-450.
- 13 Barguet, Temple, passim.

3'w

This word occurs twice in one fragmentary inscription of the Fifth Dynasty. The translation given by the Wörterbuch is "Teil eines Tempels? oder ein Gerät?", and the suggestion is made that it may be connected with a verb 3'w "to build"² which is, however, found only in Late Egyptian texts.³ There could also be a connection between this 3'w and another 3'w which seems to have been a container for writing materials.⁴ This second 3'w was current in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and was, therefore, contemporaneous with the term under discussion.

In the Fifth-Dynasty inscription mention is made of; "////, established under the 3'w of this hwt-ntr////" and "////(I) built the 3'w (but I) did not lay the s3wt////".⁵ Since the verb kd "to build" is used with 3'w, it is likely that it does refer to a part of the temple rather than to an object within the building. The use of the preposition hr and the comparison with "flooring" (s3wt)⁶ would suggest that 3'w may have been a term for a ceiling or roofing. If this were so then a connection with 3'w "box or container" would be indicated.

1 Urk., I, 181, 9; 10 (Quibell, Saqqara, 1907-8, pl.LXI, 3.)

2 Wb., I, 3, 9.

3 Ibid., I, 2, 13.

4 Ibid., I, 3, 7-8; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 1.

5 Urk., I, 181, 9; 10.

6 See s3t, below p. 213-214.

3ḥtyw

Dyn. XII ¹



3ḥtyw, known only in the plural, occurs twice in Pap. Reisner I from Naga ed-Dêr although the full writing is not preserved. One example shows the form quoted above while the other is completely lost except for the 3ḥ hieroglyph.² The word was discussed by Simpson in his publication of the papyrus³ where he decided that it was not the same word as the singular 3ḥyt⁴ which has been translated as "stockyard"⁵ and "stillroom".⁶ Simpson then suggested that 3ḥtyw was a term used to describe the innermost part of a temple, which included, in this case, the rooms 't 'st, 't špsst and k3i i3bty. Only the last named is linked with 3ḥtyw in the papyrus, in the phrase k3i i3bty n 3ḥtyw.⁷

Further evidence is needed before a definite decision can be made on the meaning of this term but, since 3ḥ was used to describe Egyptian temples⁸ and was also used in their names,⁹ Simpson's suggestion may well be correct.

1 Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, pl.13, G, 6.

2 Ibid., pl.15, I, 4.

3 Ibid., 69,3.

4 Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten, III, pl.93, No. 218; pl.94, No. 245; Smith H.S., The Fortress of Buhen, the Inscriptions, pl.LI (B.M.65739).

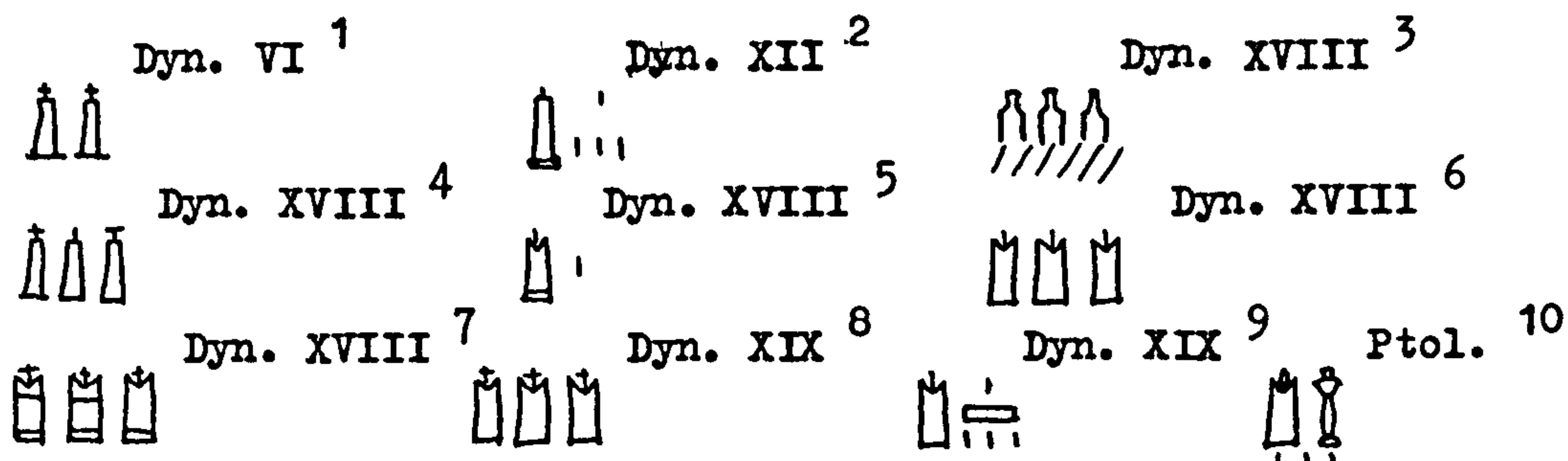
5 Hayes, JNES 10 (1950), 92.

6 Pendlebury, op. cit., Text volume, 171-2.

7 Simpson, op. cit., pl.13, G, 6; pl.15, I, 4.

8 Wb., I, 14, 10.

9 Wb., I, 14, 13; Gauthier, Dict. Geog., I, 6-10.

iwn

Although iwn is not often found in texts describing particular columns before the New Kingdom, the form of column depicted is a very ancient one. The sign was used with the phonetic value of iwn at least as early as the Fourth Dynasty in the tomb of Rahotep at Mejdum¹¹ where the hieroglyphs are drawn in great detail and coloured a reddish-brown, indicating that the iwn column, as one would have expected, was originally made of wood. The column sign continued to be used as phonetic iwn, for example in place-names such as 'Iwnw¹² and 'Iwnt.¹³

The word iwn was also used in contexts which were logical extensions of the original meaning of "column". It came to be used figuratively in such expressions as; iwn n fnd to describe the bridge of the nose,¹⁴ iwn knmt, a priestly title,¹⁵ iwn mwt.f, an epithet of Horus and also a priestly title¹⁶ and alone to describe a man as being the "pillar" of his family.¹⁷ 'Iwn was also used in one papyrus as the name for the shaft of an obelisk.¹⁸

The type of column represented by iwn was described by Gardiner as a "column with a tenon at the top"¹⁹ and, more fully, by Petrie as a "fluted eight-sided column with a tenon on the top to fit the lintel".²⁰ The characteristic vertical lines which are found on detailed depictions of the iwn would support Petrie's theory that it was originally applied to fluted columns, although these lines could also indicate the reeded or polygonal types. Both reeded and fluted columns occur in the Third-Dynasty enclosure of the Step Pyramid of King Djoser²¹ and although the reeded variety did not recur the fluted column continued to be popular into the Middle Kingdom.²² In the New Kingdom the fluted column was used mainly in Nubia,²³ while the polygonal variety increased in popularity within Egypt proper.²⁴ Since the fluted column is a more ancient type than the

polygonal the original ḥwn columns must have been fluted. However fluted and polygonal columns are very similar in appearance and are both quite distinct from the plant-form columns. It is thus to be expected that ḥwnw would describe fluted or polygonal columns where it is possible to relate a text containing the word to actual remains. Neither the Wörterbuch ²⁵ nor Faulkner ²⁶ specify the column-type involved.

The earliest texts which mention ḥwnw do not refer to specific buildings ²⁷ so that it is not possible to identify the forms of the columns. However ḥwnw has been found in a number of building inscriptions of the New Kingdom which refer to columns which can be identified.

Architrave fragments from the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai mention sandstone ḥwnw. ²⁸ The architraves would seem to have come from the "Shrine of the Kings" in which a similar architrave, also mentioning ḥwnw, was found. The columns in this "shrine" are described by Petrie as "fluted". ²⁹

The polygonal and cylindrical columns of the Eighteenth-Dynasty temple at Buhen ³⁰ are called ḥwnw ³¹ as are the polygonal columns of the temple at Amada ³² which are so described in the stela of Amenhotep II ³³ and on one of the columns. ³⁴ The parallel stela, from Elephantine, also mentions ḥwnw and, although the actual temple plan has not survived, architectural fragments, including column drums, bearing the name of Amenhotep II were found to have been re-used on the islands of Elephantine and Philae. ³⁵ The column drums were from sixteen-sided polygonal columns.

A block of Tuthmosis IV which was found within the Third Pylon at Karnak refers to a [wsḥt ḥft-ḥr m ḥnr mnḥ n rwdt phr.w m ḥwnw]. ³⁶ Many blocks of this king were found in the fill of the Third Pylon and it has been suggested that these came from a hall situated before the Fourth Pylon. ³⁷ In such a position it would have had to have been removed when the Third Pylon was erected in the reign of Amenhotep III. There do not seem to have been any columns of Tuthmosis IV in the pylon to which ḥwnw could refer although blocks have been found which Barguet estimated would constitute between twenty and thirty square pillars. ³⁸ It is possible, but improbable, that ḥwnw was used to describe these pillars in which case it would have to be assumed that ḥwn had become a general word for a "column" or a "pillar".

Two descriptions of the temple of Seti I at Abydos almost certainly use ḥwnw in this general way to include all the columns of the temple.³⁹ The halls of the Osiris suite are called ḥwnyt⁴⁰ but the columns within, which are cylindrical, are not themselves named.

In the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera ḥwn is determined with a single-stem papyriiform column⁴¹ and so would seem again to refer to columns in general rather than to a specific type. Erichsen notes only one occurrence in demotic of ḥwn as a pillar⁴² and the word did not survive into Coptic.

In origin ḥwn must have been used to describe a fluted column and, if more building inscriptions of the Old and Middle Kingdoms had survived, then there would surely have been instances where fluted columns were described as ḥwnw. Within Egypt the fluted variety was rarer in the New Kingdom and ḥwn was transferred to the polygonal column which is very similar in appearance. At the same time and particularly in later periods, ḥwn became a more general word for a column of any description.

1 Pyr., 524d.

2 Sinuhe, B.196.

3 Černý, The Inscriptions of Sinai, I, pl.LXXIX, 317A, a.

4 Ibid., pl.LXXIX, 317, a.

5 Caminos, Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script, pl.10, 3, 4.

6 Caminos, The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen, I, pl.95, 4; Urk., IV, 819.7; 1296.1;2; Černý, op. cit., pl.LXXIV, 310, a.

7 Chevfier, ASAE 51 (1951), 572, fig.8.

8 KRI, I, 186, 10.

9 Gauthier, La grande inscription dedicatoire d'Abydos, 5, line 32 of the text.

10 Dümichen, Baugeschichte des Denderatempels, pl.XL, 3.

11 Petrie, Medum, pl.X; XIII and frontispiece.

12 Gardiner, Onom., II, 144*, [400] .

13 Ibid., 30*, [343] .

14 Breasted, The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, II, pl.V, 10.

15 Crum, PSBA 16 (1894), 135.


16 Wb., I, 53, 16; Capart, ZAS 41 (1904), 88.


17 E.g. Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke, 69, 23; 74, 4.


- 18 Gardiner, Egyptian Hieratic Texts, 54, 5. (An.I, 15, 3.)
- 19 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.28.
- 20 Petrie, op. cit., 30.
- 21 Lauer, La Pyramide à degrés, II, pls.XL; XLVI; LXVIII; LXIX.
- 22 E.g. Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pls.IV; XXXIX.
- 23 E.g. LD, I, 113 (Semna and Kumma); 115 (Sedenga, with Hathor-headed capitals); Roeder, Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali, pls. 10; 11; Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl.39; II, 31-32; pl.39. Fluted columns were still found, although less often, in Egypt. (LD, I, 83. The temple of Mut at Karnak).
- 24 E.g. Jéquier, Architecture, I, pls.30-32 (Dêl el-Bahari); 42 (Medinet Habu, temple of Tuthmosis III); 53 (Karnak, festival hall of Tuthmosis III); 54 (Karnak, temple of Ptah); 73 (El-Kab, with Hathor-headed capitals).
- 25 Wb., I, 53, 10.
- 26 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 13.
- 27 Pyr., 524d; Sinuhe, B.196; Caminos, Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script, pl.10, 3, 4. An inscription within the tomb of Ankhtifi at Moalla, presumably describing the tomb itself, mentions îwnw. (Vandier, Moalla, 232, Insc. No.11, V, ∞, 4.) This is a difficult text, full of obscure mythological references, and it is not possible to be certain as to what was intended. Vandier (op. cit., 236, note g.) suggested that îwnw was part of a compound noun, îwnw-prw, ".....îwnw désigne les montants, en pierre, de l'encadrement de la porte et prw.....peut-être, les pièces de bois qui bordaient verticalement les battants de la porte et qui les consolidaient." Possibly îwnw describes the rock-cut pillars of the tomb which, although very roughly cut, are, in the majority of cases, polygonal in cross-section and so could have been called îwnw. (See plan; ibid., pl.I and photographs ibid., pl.V.)
- 28 Černý, op. cit.; I, pls.LXXIV, 310, a (found in the "Shrine of the Kings"); LXXIX, 317, a; 317A, a (exact provenance at Serabit el-Khadim was not recorded).
- 29 Petrie, Researches in Sinai, 84 and fig.97 opposite.
- 30 Caminos, The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen, I, 12; pls.7; 93; 94.
- 31 Ibid., pl.95, 4. (Also Urk., IV, 819, 7.)
- 32 Barguet and Dewachter, Le Temple d'Amada, II, pls.XXXIII-XXXIV.


- 33 Urk., IV, 1296.1.
- 34 Barguet and Dewachter, op. cit., pl.XXXIV, 75.
- 35 Borchardt, Beiträge Bf. 2. Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang, 44-45 with abb.13; De Morgan, Cat. Mon., I, 113.
- 36 Chevrier, ASAE 51 (1951), 572, fig.8; Chevrier, ASAE 52 (1954), pl.VIII.
- 37 Barguet, Temple, 94-96. For the latest views on the nature of this building see; Letellier, Hommages à Serge Sauneron, I, 51-71.
- 38 See further under iwnyt, p.18-19.
- 39 KRI, I, 186, 10; Gauthier, loc. cit..
- 40 KRI, I, 162, 12; 162, 14; 165, 14; 169, 5.
- 41 Dümichen, loc. cit..
- 42 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 23 (citing Griffith and Thompson, The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, II, pl.XIII, 3.)

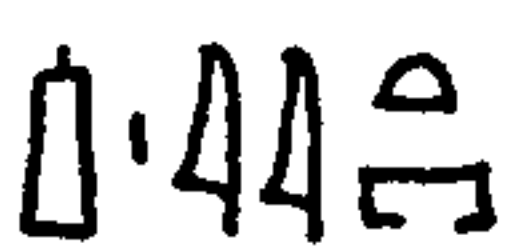
ḥwnyt


Dyn. X¹



Dyn. XVIII²



Dyn. XVIII³


Dyn. XVIII⁴



Dyn. XVIII⁵


Dyn. XVIII⁶


Dyn. XVIII⁷


Dyn. XVIII⁸


Dyn. XIX⁹


Dyn. XIX¹⁰


The Wörterbuch translates ḥwnyt as a "pillared house" or "columned hall" ¹¹ while Faulkner describes it as a "pillared hall". ¹² Neither dictionary specifies the type of column concerned although one would expect a ḥwnyt to have been, a priori, a hall or court containing the polygonal or fluted ḥwn columns. ¹³ As has been noted previously the ḥwn column was a very ancient type, although the word has not survived in many texts earlier than the New Kingdom. The same is true of ḥwnyt. Apart from the isolated example from the Tenth Dynasty, all of the known occurrences are from the New Kingdom. It can be assumed that the word was in use in the intervening period, the Middle Kingdom, although no texts which describe the building of a ḥwnyt have been preserved.

The earliest known ḥwnyt can not be identified. The word occurs in the tomb of Kheti at Siut where the deceased is promised that his name will be forever in the temple of Wepwawet and his memory will be fine in the ḥwnyt. ¹⁴ This was presumably a hall or court in the local temple of Wepwawet but no more positive identification is possible.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty ḥwnyt was used by Tuthmosis I to describe the colonnaded court which he erected behind the Fifth Pylon at Karnak. ¹⁵ A dedication inscription still survives on one of the sixteen-sided columns which was later enclosed by masonry of Tuthmosis III. ¹⁶ Here the court is described as being "a noble ḥwnyt which adorns the two lands with its beauty." ¹⁷ Before this area was altered by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, the ḥwnyt was a large open court encircled by a colonnade of polygonal columns and Osiride statues. It was, thus, a true ḥwnyt, containing ḥwn columns.

However this is not true of another hall of Tuthmosis I at Karnak, that situated between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons, which was described by Hatshepsut as a ḥwnyt on the base of one of the obelisks which she erected in the middle of the hall. The text tells of the erection of the two obelisks "in the noble ḥwnyt between the two great pylons (bḥnty wrty) of the king".¹⁸ This hall was originally built by Tuthmosis I, although no dedication inscriptions of his, referring to this hall, have survived intact.¹⁹ The biography of Ineni is, unfortunately, damaged at the point where one would expect the description of the ḥwnyt to occur, immediately before that of the pylons which are said to be "on its two sides".²⁰ Sethe, in Urkunden IV, has restored the damaged text to read [sḥḥ ḥwnyt špsst m wḏw].²¹ This could be²² correct as a feminine noun is certainly required but both wḏyt and wsḥt²³ were also used to describe the same hall and either of these could be restored in place of ḥwnyt. The name of the hall in the reign of Tuthmosis I could not, in any case, be established by this text since Ineni lived on into the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III and may have used a contemporary term which was not the name originally given to the hall when it was erected. However this hall was regarded as a ḥwnyt by Hatshepsut so one can only conclude that it was then taken to be a general word for a columned hall as the columns of this hall were papyriform, not polygonal or fluted.²⁴

The Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut, where the queen describes her benefactions for the gods, mentions their ḥwnyt (in the plural)²⁵ implying that a ḥwnyt was a characteristic part of each temple. The word also occurs on two building ostraca of the Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁶

Ḥwnyt is found²⁷ on the parallel stelae of Amenhotep II from Amada and Elephantine. At Amada this refers to the colonnaded court immediately behind the pylon which contained polygonal ḥwn columns and was, therefore, a ḥwnyt.²⁸ The temple of Amenhotep II at Elephantine also contained polygonal columns, parts of which were later reused on the same island and on Philae,²⁹ so that, although the plan of the Eighteenth-Dynasty temple has not yet been recovered, it is not unreasonable to assume that the ḥwnyt at Elephantine was a colonnaded court similar to that at Amada.

The sandstone blocks of Tuthmosis IV which were found in the fill of the Third Pylon at Karnak also bear the term ḥwnyt on certain

architrave inscriptions. These blocks must have come from an edifice of some size, whether it was a hall within the temple proper or a separate building.³⁰ The texts describe it as a wsht 'st³¹ and a wsht hft-hr m inr mnḥ n rwdt phrw m iwnw³² as well as a iwnyt.³³ The reports of the recovery of these blocks give no indication that there were any polygonal columns, or parts thereof, found; the only columns which were discovered are square in section.³⁴ It is possible that the blocks which mention the iwnyt and the iwnw are not from the same building as the square columns but, as the blocks have not yet been adequately published, the nature of the iwnyt can not be ascertained.

Finally the columned halls of the Osiris suite of the temple of Seti I at Abydos are both described as iwnyt.³⁵ The columns in these halls are not polygonal or fluted but are circular in section with flattened faces for hieroglyphic inscriptions³⁶ and are, therefore, not dissimilar in appearance to the original iwn column. Such columns, which do not have capitals, could be regarded as a simplified form of the polygonal iwn.


Since the iwn column, and consequently halls or courts containing such columns, ceases to be common in Egyptian temples after the New Kingdom, one would not expect iwnyt to continue in use. This does, indeed, seem to be so. iwnyt is found in neither Ptolemaic nor demotic and does not recur in Coptic.

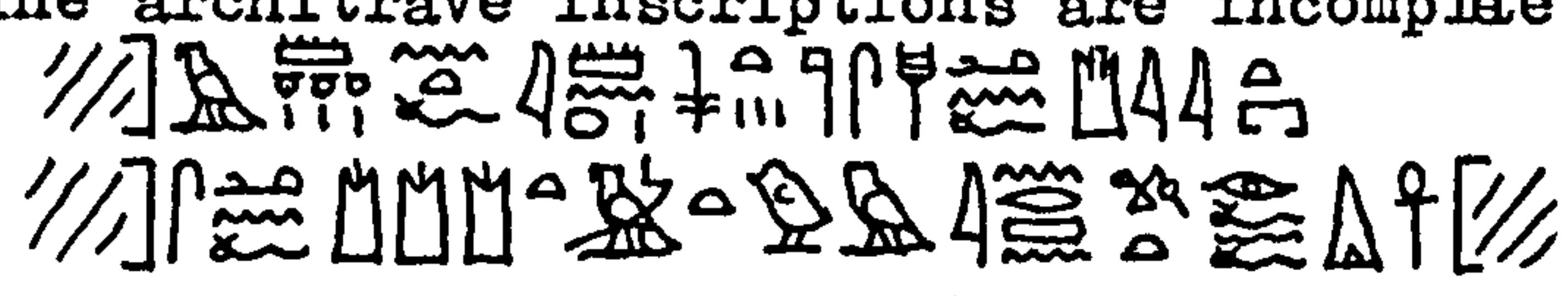
On the present evidence iwnyt can be regarded as having been current only in the period from the Tenth to the Nineteenth Dynasties, although it is probable that it was in use from the Old Kingdom as the iwn column certainly existed then. It is also likely that it was more widely used in the Middle Kingdom than can be proved at present.

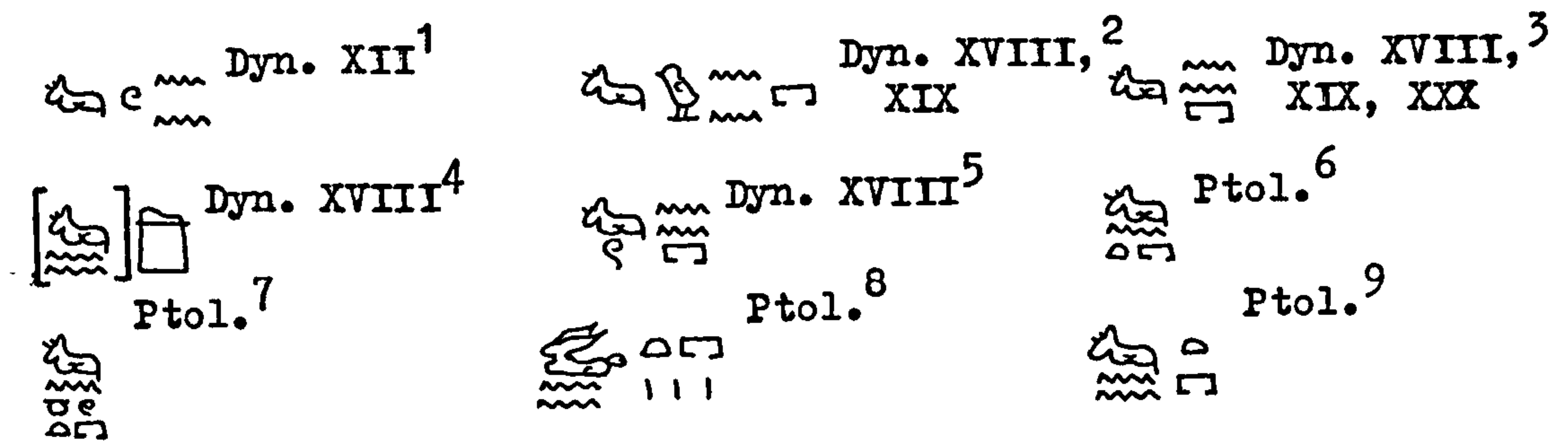
Essentially a iwnyt was a hall or court containing iwn columns. The main exception to this is the hall between the Fourth and Fifth pylons at Karnak which, although it underwent several changes in design in the Eighteenth Dynasty, never seems to have contained iwn columns. It must, therefore, be assumed that the term could also be used for a pillared hall regardless of the column-type involved.³⁷

1 Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh, pl.13, 24.

2 Urak., IV, 92, 10; 1295, 16.

- 3 Urk., IV, 365, 3.
- 4 Ibid., 384, 5 (see also Gardiner, JEA 32 (1946), pl.VI, 5).
- 5 Urk., IV, 1174, 15; Gardiner and Černý, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.XXII, 1, recto, 6.
- 6 Urk., IV, 1295, 15.
- 7 Unpublished architrave from the sandstone building, blocks from which were found in the Third Pylon of the Amun temple at Karnak and are now in the north-east corner of the enclosure. Barguet (Temple, 95) notes that this building was called a , a writing which I, during a brief inspection of these blocks, was unable to find (see further under note 33 below). For details of the blocks so far published see PM, II, 72 which, however, wrongly equates the sandstone building of Tuthmosis IV with the wooden-roofed porch before the door of the Fourth Pylon.
- 8 As note 7.
- 9 KRI, I, 165, 14; 169, 5.
- 10 Ibid., 163, 12 and 14.
- 11 Wb., I, 54, 2.
- 12 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 13.
- 13 Ösing, Nominalbildung, 290.
- 14 Griffith, loc. cit..
- 15 For a plan of the temple in the reign of Tuthmosis I see; Borchardt, Baugeschichte, 9, abb.7.
- 16 A photograph of this column is published by Borchardt, op. cit., 8, abb.6 where it is wrongly labelled as "hinter Pylon 4".
- 17 Urk., IV, 92, 10.
- 18 Ibid., 365, 3.
- 19 Traces of original texts of Tuthmosis I can be seen on some of the columns which were reused by Tuthmosis III (Borchardt, op. cit., 10-11; Barguet, op. cit., 98).
- 20 Urk., IV, 56, 1.
- 21 Ibid., 55, 17.
- 22 Ibid., 157, 13; 158, 8; 374, 11; 1328, 1-3.
- 23 Ibid., 1331, 11.
- 24 Borchardt, op. cit., 11.
- 25 Urk., IV, 384, 5.
- 26 Ibid., 1174, 15; Gardiner and Černý, loc. cit..
- 27 Urk., IV, 1295, 15 and 16.

- 28 Barguet and Dewachter, Le Temple d'Amada, II, pls.XXXII-XXXIV.
- 29 Borchardt, Beitrage Bf.2. Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang, 45, abb.13; 46; see also De Morgan, Catalogue des Monuments, I, 113 where one drum appears to be cylindrical but Borchardt, having inspected it himself, states that it is polygonal.
- 30 Barguet, Temple, 94-96. For the latest views on the nature of this edifice see; Letellier, Hommages à Serge Sauneron, I, 51-71.
- 31 Barguet, op. cit., 95.
- 32 Chevrier, ASAE, 51 (1951), 572, fig.8; Id., ASAE 52 (1952), 250, pl.VIII.
- 33 The architrave inscriptions are incomplete and read as follows;
- 
- 34 ASAE 28 (1928) - 59 (1966).
- 35 KRI, I, 162, 12 and 14; 165, 14; 169, 5.
- 36 Calverley, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, III, pl.2 and 51.

iwnn

Iwnn is essentially a term of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. If it was in great use before and after the New Kingdom, then the evidence has not survived. One isolated example is known from the Middle Kingdom which, however, gives little indication as to the meaning of the word. It occurs on a leather roll in a hieratic text which describes work of Sesostri I in the temple of Heliopolis, including statues in the iwnn of the gods.¹⁰ No determinative is used to help with the identification of the type of temple or shrine involved.

Unfortunately few of the occurrences of this term are at all instructive. In the majority of cases the iwnn is described as belonging to a god or gods so it must have been some kind of cult-place although further information about the nature of the iwnn is lacking in such texts.¹¹ There are, however, a small number of examples which can provide a little more detail concerning the iwnn.

Several texts suggest that iwnn could be used for a small shrine within which the cult image of a god could sit. In only one text is the term actually determined with such a shrine and, in fact, the determinative is the only sign preserved.¹² The rest of the word has been restored as iwnn, although this restoration is not absolutely certain. This "great [iwnn] in Nubian ebony"¹³ has been identified¹⁴ with the ebony shrine from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari¹⁵ although a text on the shrine itself describes it as a sh-ntr.¹⁶ It is possible that this one shrine could have been called by both names. Sh-ntr was often used for the cult-shrine of a temple.¹⁷

Another text in which iwnn may refer to a shrine for a cult-image mentions each god being "in the iwnn which he has desired."¹⁸

In other contexts, however, iwnn is certainly equated with an entire cultus-temple. This is particularly so with the temple of Amun

at Karnak where iwnn is used to describe the entire temple¹⁹ and with the temple of Seti I at Abydos²⁰ where the "Osiris Suite" is also called a iwnn.²¹

In the Eighteenth Dynasty an unidentified temple or shrine called ntr mnw²² is described as a iwnn²³ in a building inscription of Tuthmosis III from Karnak while, on a block from the sanctuary of Hatshepsut, a building of the same name is listed within a hwt-encl- osure.²⁴ The same shrine is also called hwt-ntr.²⁵

Further texts would seem to indicate that iwnn could also be used of the temple-complex since it could be provisioned with wild fowl²⁶ and endowed with property and offerings,²⁷

It is likely that iwnn originally had a specific meaning and referred to one particular kind of shrine or temple. However, the examples which have survived indicate that, from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards it was used primarily as a synonym for other "shrine" or "temple" words and no more specific translation than these two terms can be supported.²⁸

iwnn occurs in Ptolemaic texts by which time it has acquired an ending in t,²⁹ but it is not found in either demotic or Coptic texts.

1 Stern, ZÄS 12 (1874), 89.

2 Urk., IV, 16, 1; 279, 11; 384, 2; 612, 5; 2027, 9; 2029, 3; 2107, 2; KRI, I, 42, 3-4.

3 Urk., IV, 166, 3 (partially restored); 299, 3; 618, 12; 834, 2; 854, 9; 1259, 18; Aryton, Currelly and Wiegall, Abydos, III, pl. XXI, No.1; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.XIX, e; KRI, I, 131, 2; 154, 5; 155, 8; 164, 11; 203, 5; Naville, Goshen and the Shrine of Saft El-Henneh, pl.5, C, 2; Berlin Königlichen Museen, Aegyptische Inschriften, II, 226.

4 Urk., IV, 423, 16 (only the determinative is preserved, see note 12).

5 Ibid., IV, 1673, 6; 1957, 12.

6 Mariette, Denderah, II, pl.34, a.

7 Ibid., II, pl.82, c.

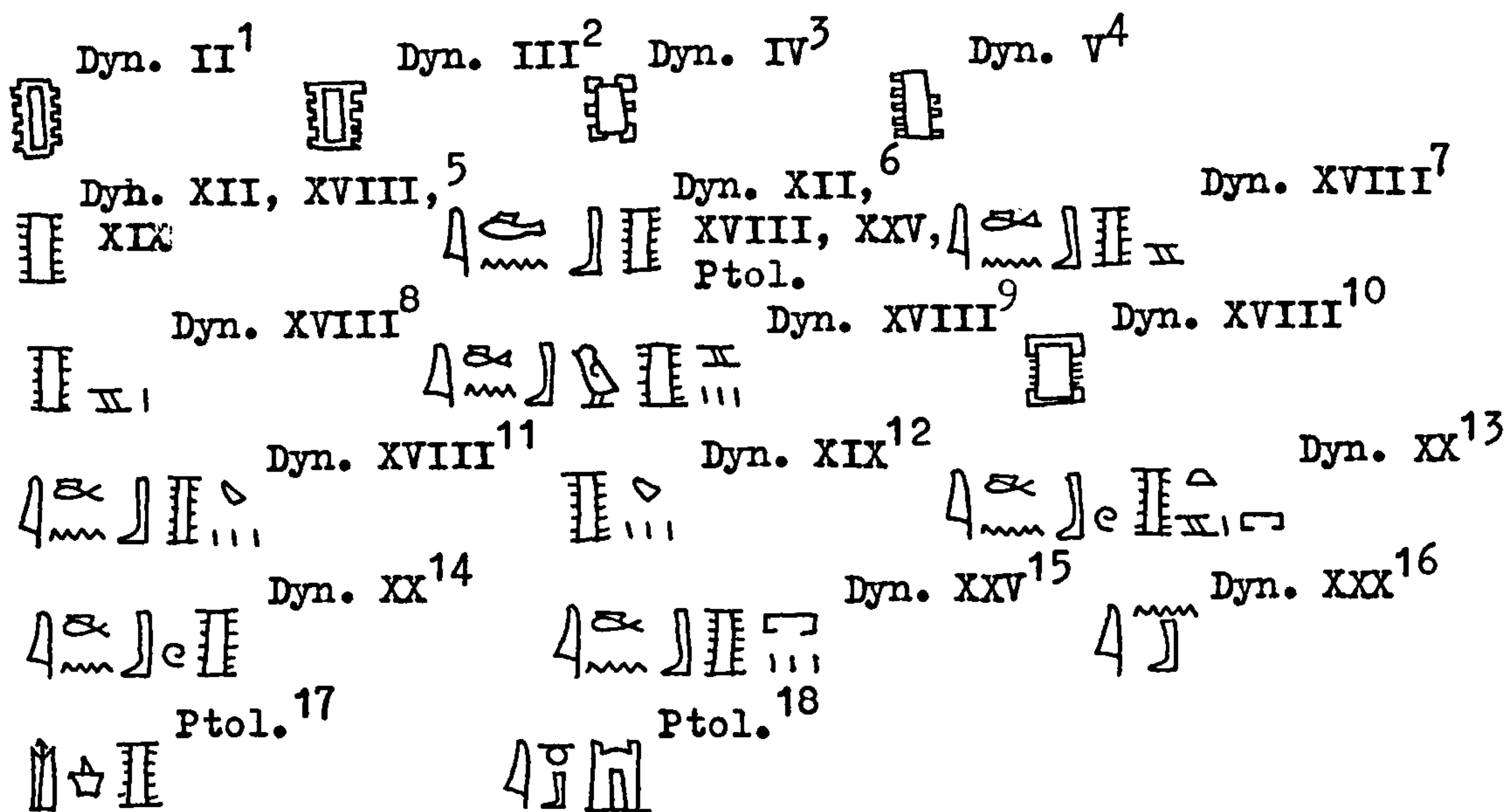
8 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 18, 44.

9 Urk., VIII, 16, d; 30, c.

10 Stern, loc. cit..

11 E.g., Urk., IV, 16, 1; 279, 11; 299, 3; 1673, 6; 1957, 12; 2107,






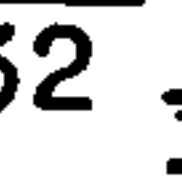



- 2; Ayrton et al., loc. cit.; Berlin Königliche Museen, loc. cit..
- 12 Northampton et al., Theban Necropolis, frontispiece.
- 13 Urk., IV, 423, 16.
- 14 Northampton, op. cit., 15; Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, II, 156.
- 15 Naville, Deir El-Bahari, II, 1-4; pls.XXV-XXIX.
- 16 Ibid., 3; pl.XXVII.
- 17 See below, sh-ntr, p.252ff.
- 18 Urk., IV, 384, 2.
- 19 Ibid., IV, 612, 5; 618, 12; 834, 2; 854, 9; KRI, I, 203, 5.
- 20 Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.XIX, e.
- 21 KRI, I, 155, 8; 164, 11.
- 22 For discussions of the evidence relating to this shrine or temple, see; Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 84, § 138; Nims, JNES 14 (1955), 114; below, hwt-ntr, p. 182.
- 23 Urk., IV, 166, 8.
- 24 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 84, § 136.
- 25 Urk., IV, 476, 7.
- 26 Ibid., IV, 1259, 18.
- 27 Ibid., IV, 2029, 3.
- 28 Wb., I, 55, 12 describes ḥwnn as "Wohnung (o.a.) eines Göttes" while Faulkner (Con. Dict., 13) gives "sanctuary".
- 29 Mariette, Denderah, II, pls.34, a; 82, c; Chassinat, loc. cit..
The last example is quoted by the Wörterbuch (Belegstellen, I, 10 (ref.55, 13)) as the only writing of ḥwnn to refer to individual temple rooms. The word is written with the "hare" sign (Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, E.34) instead of the "bubalis" (Ibid., E.9), and could, therefore, be a writing of wnt (Wb., I, 315, 1). The text in question refers to "every ḥwnn/wnt of the hwt-ntr".

inb

As can be seen immediately from the writings quoted above, inb is an ancient word which is found in all stages of the Egyptian language, including in the demotic script.¹⁹ It does not, however, occur in Coptic in which the main words for "wall" are coet,²⁰ derived from sbt²¹ and xoe²² from dryt.²³

Etymologically one would expect inb "wall" to be derived from a verb of the same stem meaning "to enclose" or "to wall in" and such a verb is known, but, unfortunately, so far only in a text of the Eighteenth Dynasty.²⁴ There is also a feminine noun inbt which was a term for some kind of fortress.²⁵

The earliest writings of inb seem to show a buttressed enclosure rather than a wall and it has, accordingly, been suggested that the "wall" sign originally represented a rectangular enclosure.²⁶ Later writings which use the ideogram were depicted in less detail and seem to have been interpreted as walls.

Since the same hieroglyphic sign was used as the determinative for other wall-nouns²⁷ (and also of related terms, such as the verb kd "to build"²⁸) when the sign is used as an ideogram it is often impossible to be certain as to which term is intended. This can be illustrated by an Eighteenth Dynasty example in which the siege-wall built by the army of Tuthmosis III around the town of Megiddo is described in one text as an inb wmtt²⁹ in others as a sbt³⁰ or a sbt n wmtt³¹ while a final text uses         .³² In view

of the fact that the adjunct is n wmtt and not just wmtt it would seem preferable to take this as a writing of sbtty n wmtt. The use of inb to describe a seige-wall at Megiddo is unique. More usually the term was used for the walls of a town or a temple.

It would seem to be likely that inb was used for all kinds of walls, from the brick walls of private houses to the stone walls of temples and massive enclosure walls around a town or temple. However, as usual, the surviving textual evidence relates primarily to monumental architecture. There are several texts which use inb to describe the walls of private houses,³³ once in contrast to the town enclosure wall, sbtty.³⁴ Inb could also be used for the walls around a garden³⁵ and those of a storehouse.³⁶

As the name of a town wall inb occurs at a very early period. The first known occurrences of the term are in the name of the city of Memphis, inbw hd,³⁷ which, presumably refers to the walls of the town. Other town walls which are called inb are at Lisht,³⁸ Thebes³⁹ and Megiddo,⁴⁰ where the walls of the town are distinguished from the encircling seige-wall erected by the beseiging Egyptians. It is possible that inb was used for a town-wall at all periods although sbtty seems to have been preferred, particularly from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.

Inb was most frequently used to refer to the walls of temples, both the large brick enclosures⁴¹ and the stone walls of the temple proper.⁴² In the case of some examples it is not possible to be certain as to which of these was intended.⁴³

The term also occurs in the names of fortresses such as Inbw hks, "Walls of the Ruler",⁴⁴ which was a fort on Egypt's eastern frontier, and Inbw Imn-m-hst, "Walls of Amenemhat (III)"⁴⁵ which was probably the name of a fortress in Nubia.⁴⁶

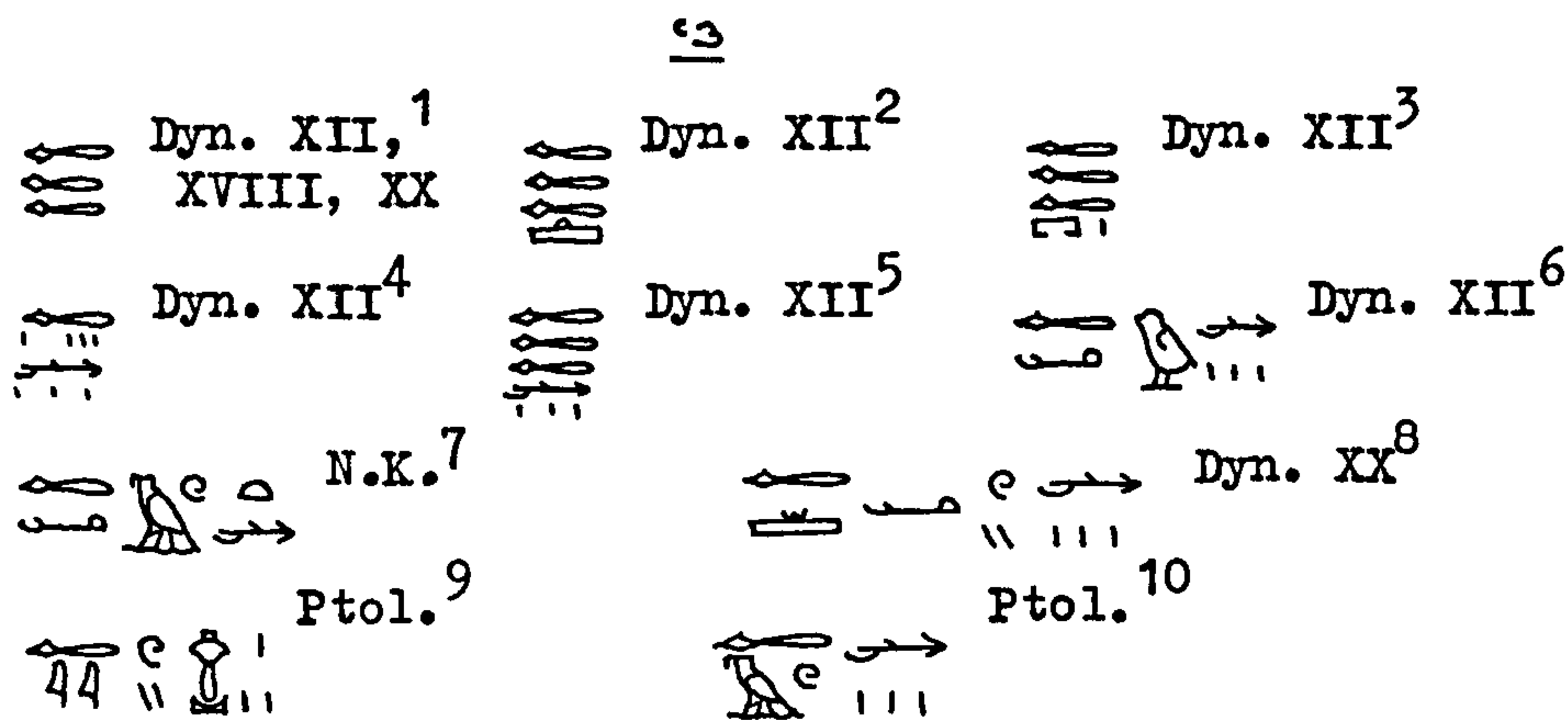
There is little that can be usefully added concerning this term. Inb was the most common word for a wall particularly in the earliest periods and it was in continuous use until the hieroglyphic script was abandoned. Its basic meaning of "wall" cannot be doubted, even if the ideogram, which was later interpreted as a wall, originally represented an enclosure. It is possible that some of the examples in which the ideogram alone is used and which have been treated here as writings of inb, are, in fact, writings of other wall-nouns


but, since inb is the most ancient and also the most common word for a wall, this is unlikely.

- 1 Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, pl.XXIII, 193 (in the name of Memphis, inbw ḥd).
- 2 Garstang, Maḥasna and Bêt Khallâf, pl.IX (also in inbw ḥd).
- 3 Junker, Gîza, I, 252, abb.63; pl.XL, b.
- 4 Davies, N[orman] de G, Ptahhotep, I, pl.XII, 240.
- 5 Pierret, Insc. Louvre, II, 29 (Louvre C.15); Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke, 67, 6; Urk., IV, 173, 17; 834, 15; 1041, 15; 1330, 3 and 4; LD., III, 152, b; 170; 171; Christophe, BIFAO 60 (1960), 78.
- 6 Scharff, ZAS 59 (1924), 10-11 (of autographed text); Urk., IV, 1864, 11; LD., III, 194, 24; Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl. 14, 2; Traunecker, in Karnak, V, 1970-1972, 142, fig.1; Urk., III, 47, 14.
- 7 Caminos, Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script, pl.10, 3, 4.
- 8 Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), 44-45; pl.XII, 17, recto.
- 9 Naville, Das Agyptische Todtenbuch, II, pl.CXXXVIII; Urk., IV, 1235, 14 (omitting π).
- 10 (In plural), Ibid., IV, 1295, 3..
- 11 Ibid., IV, 1650, 15.
- 12 KRI, I, 186, 4.
- 13 Gardiner, Onom., pl.XIIA, 1.
- 14 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 69, 7 (with π added); 25, 7 (with π added).
- 15 Urk., III, 26, 15.
- 16 Erman and Wilcken, ZAS 38 (1900), 129.
- 17 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 328.
- 18 Fakhry, ASAE 34 (1934), 89 (see also; Traunecker, op. cit., 147, No.19 and 149, note 7).
- 19 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 35.
- 20 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 323a.
- 21 Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 148. See also sbty, below p.238ff.
- 22 Crum, op. cit., 753b-754a.
- 23 Černy, op. cit., 309.
- 24 Wb., I, 95, 11 (untranslated). Faulkner, (Con. Dict., 23) translates

- as "to wall off (a place)". The verb occurs in the Karnak decree of Horemheb, in which the king describes the inspection and organization of the country (Urk., IV, 2155, 11).
- 25 Wb., I, 95, 10.
- 26 Scharff, Archäologische Beiträge zur Frage der Entstehung der Hieroglyphenschrift, 18-19; Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.36.
- 27 See, for example, writings of sbty, s3t, tsmt, etc..
- 28 Wb., V, 74.
- 29 Gardiner, JEA 38 (1952), pl.IV, 14 (Urk., IV, 1254, 9).
- 30 Ibid., 184, 16; 894, 17.
- 31 Ibid., IV, 661, 4. See also; Ibid., 758, 12-13 (sbty swmt). For further discussion of these terms with regard to the seige-wall at Megiddo, see; Grapow, Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten, 56-57, and sbty, below p.239.
- 32 Urk., IV, 767, 11.
- 33 Pierret, loc. cit.; Habacmi, The Second Stela of Kamose, pl.VI, 9.
- 34 Urk., III, 26, 15.
- 35 Ibid., IV, 1047, 15.
- 36 Ibid., IV, 1330, 3 and 4; Wreszinski, Der Papyrus Ebers, 203, 17; Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924), 11, P.10096, 12.
- 37 Petrie, loc.cit.; Garstang, loc. cit.. See also; Wb., I, 95, 6-7; Gardiner, Onom., II, 122*-123*, [394]; Sethe, Beiträge zur Altesten Geschichte Agyptens, 121ff.
- 38 Caminos, loc. cit..
- 39 Leclant, Montuemhat, 88; pl.XXIV.
- 40 Urk., IV, 1235, 14.
- 41 Ibid., IV, 173, 17; 765, 16; 1295, 3 and 4; 1864, 11; Christophe, loc. cit.; KRI, I, 186, 4; LD., III, 152, b; Traunecker, op. cit., 142, fig.1; Fakhry, loc. cit.; Erman and Wilcken, op. cit., 124-125; Maspero, ZÄS 23 (1885), 5; Daressy, ASAE 19 (1920), 164.
- 42 Hayes, loc. cit.; Urk., IV, 1650, 15; LD., III, 170; 171,
- 43 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 29, 14; 68, 16; 69, 7; Macadam, loc. cit.; Erman and Wilcken, op. cit., 129; Montet, Kêmi 8 (1946), pl. V (after p.40).
- 44 Sinuhe, B.17.
- 45 Reisner, Excavations at Kerma, IV-V, 509, fig.343, No.30.
- 46 Hintze, ZÄS 91 (1964), 84. See further below, snb(t), p. 248.

- 47 'Inb (spelled inbt) occurs in the Onomasticon of Amenemope, after sbty (spelled sbtt) and tsmt (Gardiner, Onom., pl.XIIA, 1). Gardiner (Ibid., II, 213* 446) expressed some doubt as to whether this was a writing of inb "wall" or inbt "fortress", but in view of its position in the list, and also taking into account the fact that sbty also has an extra t, it is almost certainly to be understood as inb.



The ꜥ3 column was a light wooden one with a tenon at the top, by which it was set into the architrave. The exact form is depicted in Old Kingdom inscriptions, both as the hieroglyph with the phonetic value ꜥ3,¹¹ and as the supporting column of the booth ¹². These "tent-pole" columns were used principally to support light structures such as the covering of a ship's cabin¹³ or a kiosk¹⁴ and, consequently, the term occurs only rarely in hieroglyphic building inscriptions.

This column-type must be a very ancient one since the sign is used as phonetic ꜥ3 on a jar-seal of the Early Dynastic Period¹⁵ and the column itself was often depicted, from the Old Kingdom onwards, in representations of cabins and kiosks.

In a mythological context ꜥ3w occurs in Spell 60 of the Coffin Texts, in a very corrupt passage,¹⁶ and also in Chapter 159 of the Book of the Dead in the New Kingdom.¹⁷ Jéquier¹⁸ thought that ꜥ3 in the latter example referred to the w3d-amulet which is depicted at the head of the chapter. However, this is referred to throughout as w3d and is unlikely to have had two names. Budge¹⁹ regards this ꜥ3 as the word for a door-leaf rather than the column.

Fortunately there are also more tangible examples of the term. The earliest is a title of the Middle Kingdom, sš ꜥ3w, "the decorator of ꜥ3-columns".²⁰ These could have been made of stone but are more likely to have been of wood. The only known stone columns of this type occur in the festival hall of Tuthmosis III at Karnak²¹ and it is gratifying to find that these are described as ꜥ3w.

A damaged text on one of the columns records that the king erected ꜥ3w²² and the determinative of the term hrt-ib which is used for the festival hall, shows that the columns were of the ꜥ3 form.²³ These columns may also have been described as t3w²⁴ although this reading

is not certain.

Although these are the only monumental stone ʿ3w which have been found, it is possible that others were erected by Ramesses III. In a hymn to Amun-Re in the king's temple at Karnak Ramesses claims to have made for the god "𐎓𐎓𐎓 in stone /// in ypur wb3."²⁵ The columns of the temple itself are all either Osiride²⁶ or stylised papyriform-clusters.²⁷ However, the expression m wb3.k indicates only that the columns were within the temenos of Amun so that they could have been anywhere at Karnak, or even, if wb3 is taken in its widest sense, on the west bank.²⁸

Papyrus Harris I records a more typical example of the use of ʿ3w as the supports of a shrine on a barque.²⁹

The term was still in use in the Ptolemaic period, occurring both at Edfu³⁰ and Denderah.³¹ In the latter case ʿ3w is determined by a w3d-column so that it must be assumed that the term has come to be used with the general meaning of "columns".

The Wörterbuch defined ʿ3 as a pillar of wood or stone, as part of a building or a ship.³² It would, perhaps, be more accurate to define the term as a wooden column used primarily to support ship's cabins or shrines since the stone examples are so few.

This term does not recur in either the demotic or Coptic stages of the Egyptian language.

1 Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, pl.XII, I, 1, 3.

2 Be Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 253, d and f; Urk., IV, 857, 17; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Ramses III's Temple within the Inclosure of Amun, pls.22, A, 18; 23, A, 18 (dual).

3 De Buck, op. cit., 253, d.

4 Loc. cit..

5 Loc. cit.,

6 Ibid., 253, f.

7 Lepsius, Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter, pl.76.

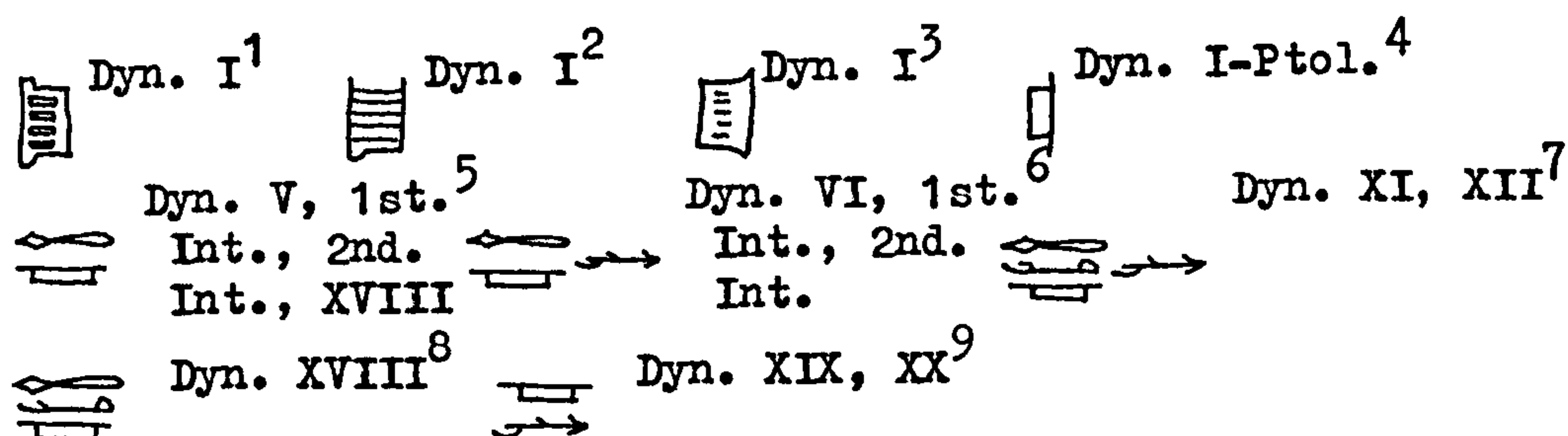
8 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 51, 15; 51, 16 (with 𐎓 instead of 𐎓).

9 Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.37, i.

10 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 554.

- 11 Petrie, Medum, pl.XIII; Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.29; Davies, N[orman] de G, Ptahhotep, I, pl.XII, 250.
- 12 Petrie, loc. cit..
- 13 Jéquier, BIFAO 9 (1911), 69-70; Id., BIFAO 19 (1922), 8-10. For actual examples of the ʿ3-column used in this way, in the Khufu boat, see; Abu Bakr and Mustafa, Beiträge Bf., 12, Festschrift Ricke, pl. 6.
- 14 Davies, N[orman] de G, The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said, pl.XV; Kaiser, Beiträge Bf., 12, Festschrift Ricke, Falttafel, 4.
- 15 Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl.91, 346, bis.
- 16 De Buck, op. cit., 253.
- 17 Lepsius, loc. cit..
- 18 Jéquier, op. cit., 9.
- 19 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Translation volume, 287.
- 20 Griffith, loc. cit..
- 21 For photographs of these columns see; Jéquier, L'architecture, I, pls.50-51.
- 22 Urk., IV, 857, 17.
- 23 Ibid., IV, 856, 8.
- 24 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x+3. See also below, t3w, p. 284-285.
- 25 Chicago University, loc. cit..
- 26 Ibid., pl.3.
- 27 Ibid., pl.31.
- 28 See below, wb3 p. 68.
- 29 Erichsen, loc. cit..
- 30 Chassinat, loc. cit..
- 31 Mariette, loc. cit..
- 32 Wb., I, 164, 10.

3



The hieroglyphic sign which was used as an ideogram for 3 and as a determinative for 3 itself, as well as for other related terms, is a representation of a typical Egyptian door-leaf.¹⁰ Such leaves were usually made of wood, as is indicated by the horizontal planks shown on the more detailed depictions, although they could, particularly when employed in religious architecture, also be plated with metal. An Egyptian door-leaf turned on pivots set into indentations in both the threshold and lintel of the doorway.¹¹ Examples of such doors have survived¹² so that there can be no doubt as to the interpretation of the hieroglyphic sign. In addition tomb-scenes show men at work on the manufacture of door-leaves¹³ of the same form as the hieroglyph.

The term is attested from the beginning of dynastic Egypt to the Ptolemaic period, although it does not seem to have recurred in texts written in either the demotic or Coptic scripts.

Obviously a word for a door-leaf could not have existed until the building of permanent dwellings had become a regular practice, presumably in the late predynastic period. In the earliest dynasties the term is found most frequently in titles¹⁴ although this is, undoubtedly, merely a reflection of the nature of the inscribed material which has survived from the early dynastic period.

In texts from the Old Kingdom, however, 3 is used with its regular meaning of "door-leaf," made of wood in a private house¹⁵ or a palace¹⁶ and of stone in a royal pyramid.¹⁷ In the same period the term came to be used for the lid of a sarcophagus,¹⁸ a logical extension of its original meaning.

This term is found meaning "door-leaves" in tombs of the First Intermediate Period¹⁹ and for a private house at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.²⁰

In texts from the Middle Kingdom onwards ‘3w are described in greater detail. The ‘3 of the first door (sb3) of the tomb of Khnum-hotep at Beni Hasan was of cedar of Nega and was six cubits high²¹ while two stelae of the Second Intermediate Period tell how temple ‘3w which had fallen into ruin were replaced.²²

In the building texts of the New Kingdom ‘3w occurs most often to describe the large monumental door-leaves in Egyptian temples. These could be the leaves of the pylons and major doorways at Karnak²³ and elsewhere,²⁴ of rock-cut temples like that of Pakht at Speos Artemidos²⁵ or of smaller shrines belonging to various gods.²⁶

Temple door-leaves, like those in smaller buildings, were normally made of wood, and then decorated with various metals.²⁷ The leaf could also be covered entirely with sheets of beaten metal, usually copper, which led to it being described as an ‘3 of copper.²⁸ It is possible that some of these door-leaves were made of cast metal, but this method of manufacture was probably reserved for the smaller doors of shrines and naoi.²⁹ The usual wood employed was ‘š,³⁰ a coniferous wood,³¹ although Nile acacia was also used.³² The metals could be bronze,³³ electrum,³⁴ gold³⁵ and copper³⁶ which is the most common.

Most Egyptian doors were double-leafed, consequently ‘3 is often found in the dual form ‘3wy³⁷ and also in the plural ‘3w when, for example all the door-leaves of a temple are intended.³⁸

After the New Kingdom ‘3 continued to be used of temple door-leaves and also those of private houses.⁴⁰ References to the latter are rare since texts describing private dwellings are not often found,

Surprisingly the term did not survive into either demotic or Coptic, although Fecht and Westendorf⁴¹ suggest an Egyptian original of *tpy-‘3 for the Coptic τoγα "door-lintel".⁴² Ösing, however, has refuted this suggestion, preferring to regard the noun tw3 as the etymological ancestor of τoγα.⁴⁴

The term does not appear to have ever been used for any other element of a doorway, other than the leaves.

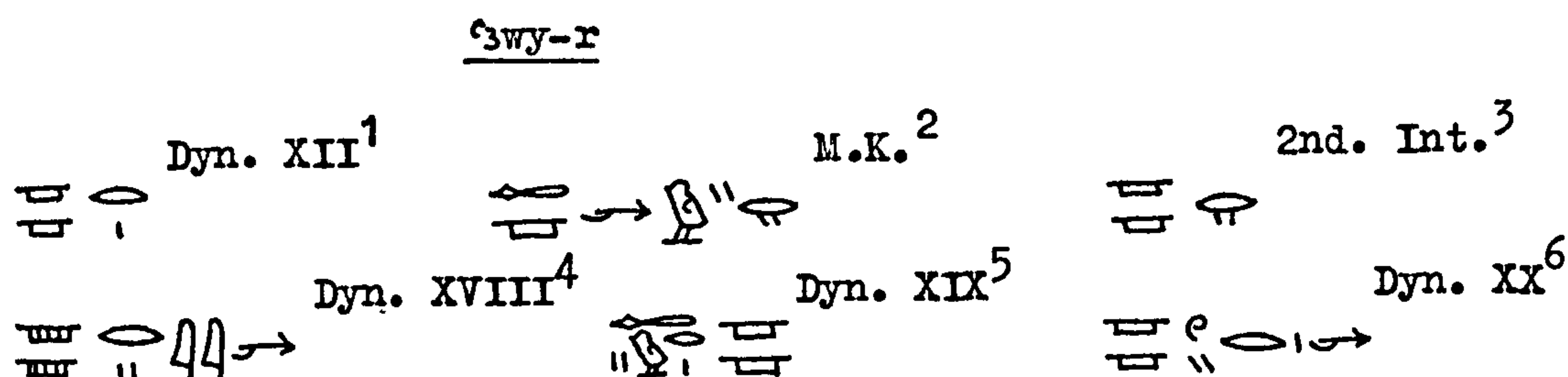
1 Quibell, Hierakonpolis, I, pl.XXIX; Cf., Petrie, Royal Tombs, I, pl.XVIII, 4 (in dual form).

2 Ibid., I, pl.VII, 9.

3 Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl.97, 391.

- 4 This is the simplest form of the hieroglyph and it is found throughout Egyptian history. It is, however, possible that many of the writings quoted here show greater detail than is indicated in the publications. This writing occurs in singular, dual and plural forms. Kaplony, op. cit., III, pl.89, 388; Urk., I, 107, 3; 237, 3; Pyr., 1266c (with ⲓ); Vandier, Moalla, 232, V, ∞ , 1; pl. 20; Petrie, Koptos, pl.12, 3; Urk., IV, 53, 15; 387, 3; 388, 11; 476, 1; 1249, 14; 1295, 3 and 4; Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x+16 and x+17; KRI, I, 43, 2; 141, 8; Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.11, a and b; Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl.XIII, 47; Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), pl.III; Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 7; Urk., II, 68, 3; VIII, 33; 39/40, 2; 115, 143, 1.
- 5 Petrie, Deshasheh, pl.XXI; Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire, et de la XIème Dynastie, 46, 11; Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199; pl.XVII, 10 (with ⲓ) and 12; Urk., IV, 56, 9 (with ⲓ); 168, 2; 422, 10; 424, 17; 1233, 4.
- 6 Urk., I, 121, 14; Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 46, 10; Gardiner, Admonitions, pl.14, 3;
- 7 James, The Hekanakhte Papers and other early Middle Kingdom Documents, pl.26, 9; De Buck, Egyptian Reading Book, 71, 16.
- 8 Urk., IV, 159, 11; 168, 16; 169, 17; 423, 2.
- 9 Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 147, 4; Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl.XXIV, 10 (with ⲓ); Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6, 9 (pl.); 30, 15 (pl.); Müller, Liebespoesie, pl.5, 12 (dual).
- 10 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.31.
- 11 For constructional details of ancient Egyptian door-leaves see; Koenigsberger, Die Konstruktion der Ägyptischen Tür, 13-24.
- 12 See, for example, the well-preserved leaves from a shrine of Toueris, now in Moscow in Monuments of the Alexander II museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, pl.XIII (no author or editor is given, for the Russian title of the book see Bibliography, p.315).
- 13 Petrie, loc. cit.; Hassan, Giza, II, fig.219 (facing p.190)
- 14 Kaplony, op. cit., III, pls.89, 338; 97, 389; 391, 399; 109, 570; 47, 176 (this last is interpreted by Kaplony as a part of a name, ʿIry-ʿ3wy (Ibid, II, 1115) but could it be a title (ᵚ)r(y) ʿ3wy? Compare the common title ᵚry-ʿ3 (Wb., I, 164, 17).
- 15 Urk., I, 121, 14.
- 16 Ibid., I, 237, 3.

- 17 Ibid., I, 107, 3.
- 18 Wb., I, 164, 22. E.g., Urk., I, 106, 15.
- 19 Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 46; 10 and 11; Vandier, op. cit., 232, V, α, 1; pl. 20.
- 20 James, loc. cit..
- 21 De Buck, loc. cit..
- 22 Petrie, Koptos, pl. 12, 3; Helck, loc. cit..
- 23 Urk., IV, 36, 9; 168, 2-5; 169, 17; 170, 1-2; 423, 2; 424, 17; 476, 1; Nims, loc. cit..
- 24 Urk., IV, 388, 11; 422, 10; 1249, 14.
- 25 Ibid., IV, 387, 3; KRI, I, 43, 2.
- 26 Urk., IV, 168, 16; Abd El-Razik, loc. cit.; Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 9; 30, 15.
- 27 Koenigsberger, op. cit., 23-24.
- 28 E.g., Urk., IV, 388, 11 et al..
- 29 Koenigsberger, op. cit., 24.
- 30 Urk., IV, 168, 2-5 and 16; 423, 2; 1295, 3 and 4; et al..
- 31 Gardiner, Onom., I, 8, note 1.
- 32 Urk., IV, 387, 3.
- 33 Ibid., 423, 2; 1249, 14.
- 34 Ibid., 170, 2; 422, 10.
- 35 Ibid., 168, 4; 476, 1; Erichsen, op. cit., 30, 6 (ktm).
- 36 Urk., IV, 387, 3; 422, 10; 388, 11; Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 9; 30, 15; KRI, I, 141, 8; Mariette, op. cit., 3, 4; et al..
- 37 E.g., Mariette, loc. cit.; KRI, loc. cit.; et al..
- 38 Urk., IV, 424, 17; 388, 11; et al..
- 39 Caminos, loc. cit.; Vercontter, loc. cit.; Daressy, loc. cit..
- 40 Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl. XXIV, 10; Müller, loc. cit.; Urk., IV, 1233, 4.
- 41 Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 251; Fecht, Wortakzent und Silbensstruktur, 103-105.
- 42 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 443b.
- 43 Ösing, Nominalbildung, 635.
- 44 See below, tw3, p. 276-277.



This curious term is clearly a compound of the dual form of ‘3 "door-leaf" and r,⁷ the true meaning of which was "mouth" but which could also be used to mean "opening" or "entrance".⁸ Logically, therefore, one would expect ‘3wy-r to describe a "double-leafed entrance".

The earliest example of the term would certainly seem to indicate this. It comes from the description of the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan. "An ‘3 of six cubits of cedar of Nega to be the first sb3 of the tomb. An ‘3wy-r of five cubits and two palms for the k3r of the ‘t špsst which is within this tomb."⁹

The "first door" with an ‘3 of six cubits is the doorway between the portico of the tomb and its main hall. This had only one pivot for a single-leafed door (‘3).¹⁰ The k3r is the name of the "shrine" at the rear of the tomb, the entrance to which from the main hall was through a doorway which had pivots on either side, proving that this was a double-leafed door (‘3wy-r).¹¹

A further example from the Middle Kingdom occurs in the Book of the Dead. "As for this sb3, it is an ‘3wy-r by which my father, Atum, proceeds to the eastern horizon of heaven."¹² The text has an Eighteenth Dynasty parallel.¹³

A building inscription from Karnak of the Second Intermediate Period king, Sebekhotep IV, describes "a sb3 of ten cubits.....in fine cedar of the Lebanon, with ‘3wy-r worked in gold and silver."¹⁴ This door cannot now be identified, but it can be assumed to have been double-leafed.

Writings of this term from the reign of Ramesses II are paralleled by writings of ‘3wy, showing that the two terms are synonymous. These double-doors were between the portico and the first hall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.¹⁵ The vertical texts on the door-frames describe the doorway as "a sb3 in black copper, ‘3wy-r banded with copper and gilded with electrum"¹⁶ while the horizontal texts have,

"a sb3 in black copper, '3wy in electrum." 17

The final example of '3wy-r comes from Papyrus Harris I, in which a granite shrine at Heliopolis is described as having '3wy-r made from a copper-alloy. 18

Although there are so few examples of this term, there can not be any doubt that its meaning was "double-leaved door" 19 and it was in fact a synonym of '3wy. This may be the reason for the infrequent use of '3wy-r since the simple term could be employed with exactly the same meaning.

1 De Buck, Egyptian Reading Book, 72, 1.

2 Urk., V, 28, 1.


3 Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199; pl.XVII, 10.

4 Urk., V, 28, 1.

5 Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.11, a and b (vertical texts).

6 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 52, 13.

7 Wb., II, 389-392.

8 Although r can often be translated as "entrance" this is simply an extension of its original meaning of "mouth". It was not usually employed to describe an actual doorway or any of its components and has, therefore, been omitted from this study. One text in which r does seem to have had a more "concrete" meaning than usual is from the regency of Philip Arrhidaeus when work was carried out on the w'bt of the Falcon at Athribis including six 'hwt which had "  in Tura limestone and..... '3wy in true cedar" (Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 6). In this case r must mean "door-frame".

9 De Buck, loc. cit..

10 Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, 52; pl.XXIIIA, (main doorway).

11 Ibid., 53; pl.XXIIIA, (doorway to shrine).

12 Urk., V, 28, 1.

13 Ibid., V, 28, 13.

14 Helck, loc. cit..

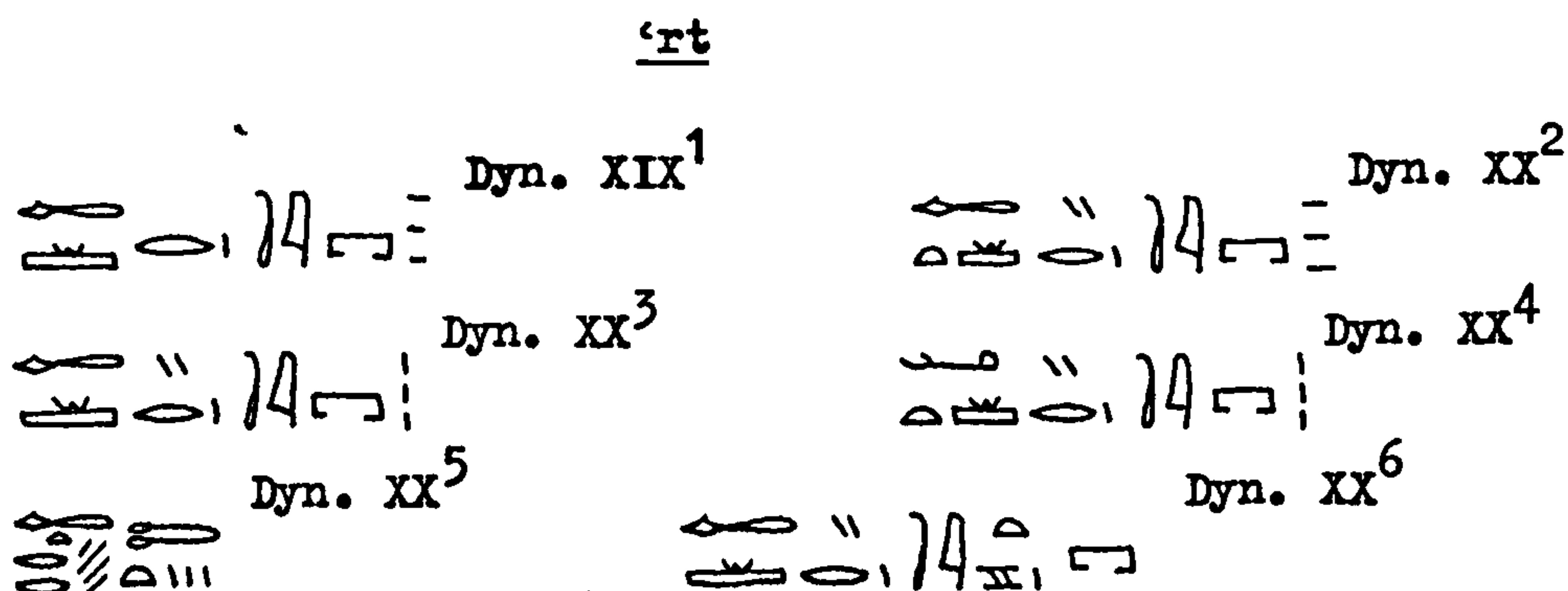
15 For plan see; PM., VI, 32.

16 Mariette, loc. cit..

17 Ibid, II, pl.11, a and b (horizontal texts).

18 Erichsen, loc. cit..

19 The term is translated by Wb., I, 164, 15; II, 390, 11 as "die Flügel der Tür" and by Faulkner (Con. Dict., 37) as "the two leaves of the door".



It is generally agreed that this term, which is found in only a few texts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, is a loan-word of semitic origin.⁷ It occurs most often in Papyrus Harris I where it is given as a part of an enclosure wall, along with tkrw and tsmwt. The most useful occurrence from this text is in the description of the enclosure wall (sbtj) of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu which had "'rwt and tkrw in sandstone".⁸ This is the only temple wall described in the papyrus which does not have tsmwt. The mortuary temple of Ramesses III had two brick enclosure walls, the outer one of which was lower than the inner and was faced with stone on the side facing the cultivation. It was surmounted by turrets which straddled the wall.⁹ It would seem likely, therefore that these turrets are either the 'rwt or the tkrw.

The other descriptions are of temple enclosure walls which have not survived.¹⁰

In the account of the travels of Wenamun, the Egyptian tells how he found the ruler of Byblos "seated (in) his 'rt, his back turned to a window".¹¹ This is the only writing of 'rt in the singular and is usually understood to refer to an "upper chamber".

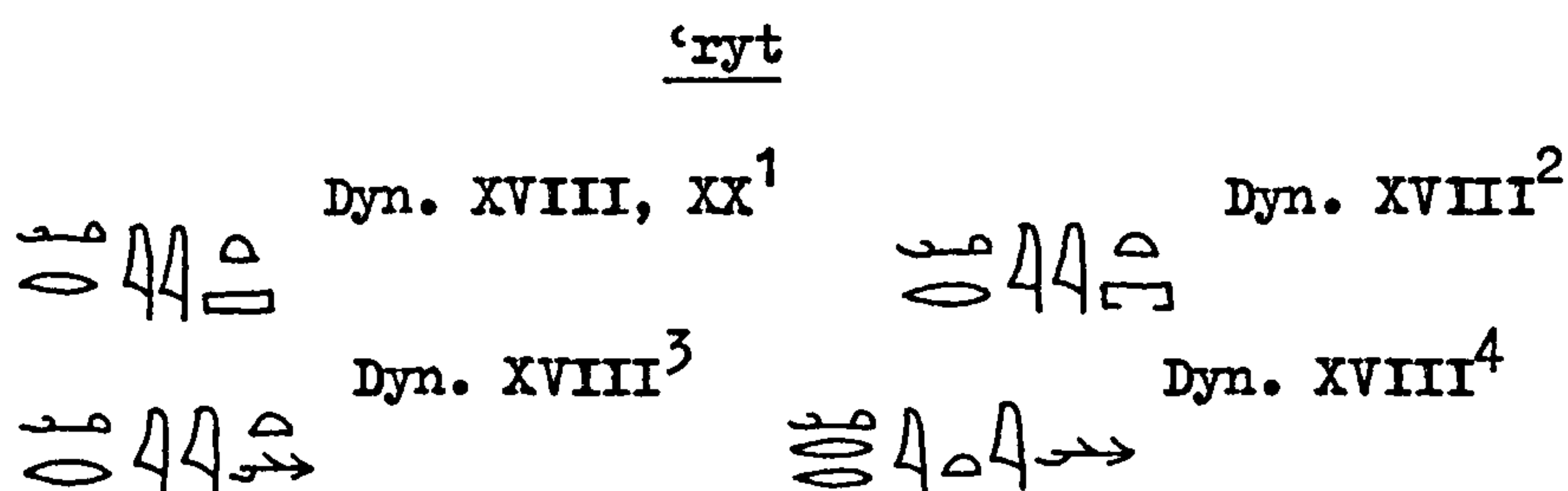
Finally the term occurs in a description of the city of Pi-Ramesse, "Beautious of windows (sšdw), radiant with 'rwt of lapis lazuli and turquoise."¹² Caminos has translated the word in this passage as "halls".¹³

14

Both Borchardt and Helck¹⁵ translate 'rt as "Söller", and note its relationship to the semitic verbal stem "to climb". In view of this connection it would seem that the 'rwt at Medinet Habu could well be the turrets on the top of the wall.¹⁶ It can only be assumed that the other enclosure walls which no longer exist had similar turrets. When used in other contexts an 'rt could have been either

a balcony or a chamber situated at a height within a building.

- 1 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 28, 13.
- 2 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 66, 18; 67, 12; 68, 3-4.
- 3 Ibid., 4, 10-11.
- 4 Ibid., 68, 13.
- 5 Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966), pl.II, x+5. This writing occurs in a badly damaged text, relating to restoration work of the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, at Karnak. For Sauneron's discussion of this writing, which may not be for 'rt, see Ibid., 15.
- 6 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 66, 4.
- 7 Jéquier, BIFAO 19 (1922), 12-13; Gardiner, Onom., II, 210* [432]; Helck, Die Beziehungen Agyptens zu Vorderasien im 2 und 3 Jahrtausend V. Chr., 510, No.37.
- 8 Erichsen, op. cit., 4, 10-11.
- 9 Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, IV, 1-3; pl.2.
- 10 Erichsen, op. cit., 66, 18; 67, 12; 68, 3-4; 68, 13.
- 11 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 66, 4.
- 12 Id., Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 28, 13.
- 13 Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 101.
- 14 Burchardt, Fremdworte und Eigennamen, II, 15, 279-16, 279.
- 15 Helck, loc. cit..
- 16 See also tkrw, below p. 290.



This term, 'ryt, ought not to be confused with the more common noun, 'rryt (q.v.), although both had, no doubt, a similar origin in the verb 'r/i'r "to approach, to rise up".

This term is only found in New Kingdom texts and clearly refers to a relatively small building element. Gardiner did not distinguish 'ryt from 'rryt and suggested that, when used of the small element, the term described a lintel.⁵ He based this suggestion primarily on the Turin papyrus with the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV. The description on the verso seems to belong to a different Ramesside tomb as the measurements given do not correspond to those of the tomb of Ramesses IV.⁶ Whichever tomb is concerned, the figures quoted show that the height of the 'ryt could be added to the height of the door-jamb (bnš) to give the height of each chamber. For this reason Gardiner proposed that 'ryt be translated as "lintel".

A typical example of the measurements is; "thickness of the bnš of one cubit and three palms, breadth of five cubits, one palm and two digits, height of the bnš of seven cubits and one palm, 'ryt of two cubits and six palms, total; ten".⁷

Gardiner cites another text in which the bnš and the 'ryt are associated. This is an Eighteenth Dynasty ostrakon which lists the number of workmen employed on the construction of a building. They include nty hr p3 bnš and nty m t3 'ryt.⁸

The two terms also occur together in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead where the deceased is interrogated by first the bnšw of the sb3 and then the left and right 'ryt.⁹ This mention of the possible division of an 'ryt into two halves led Gardiner to suggest that the term was originally applied to a "half-lintel".¹⁰ This seems unlikely although I cannot offer any other interpretation for the "left" and "right" 'ryt.



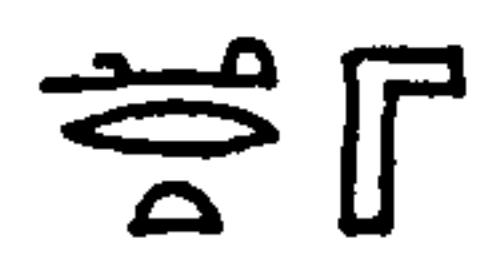

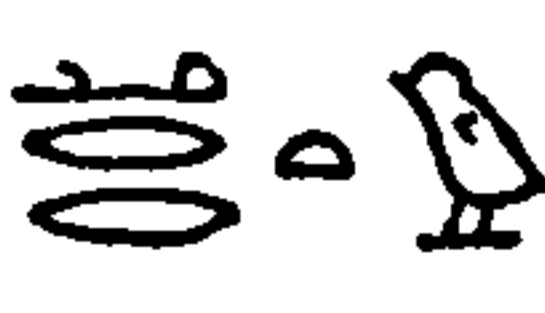





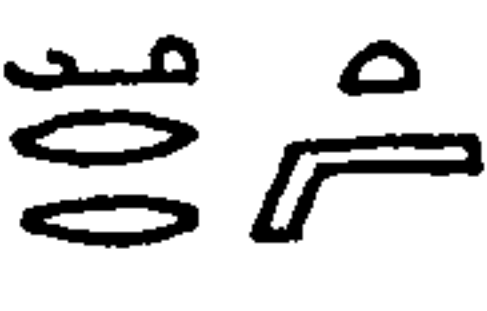
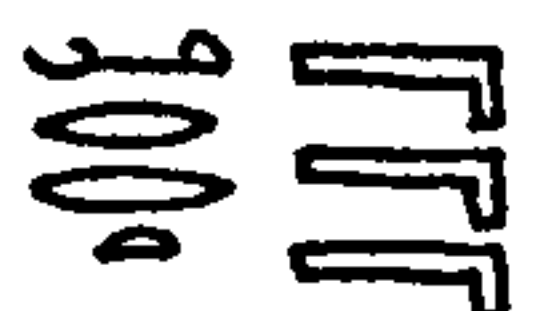
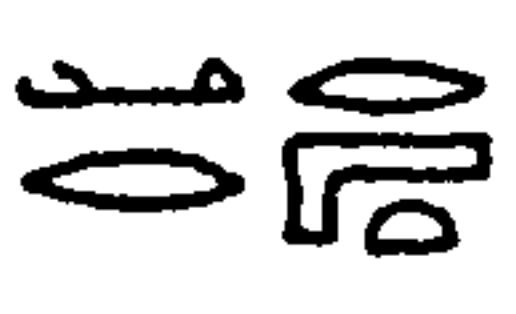

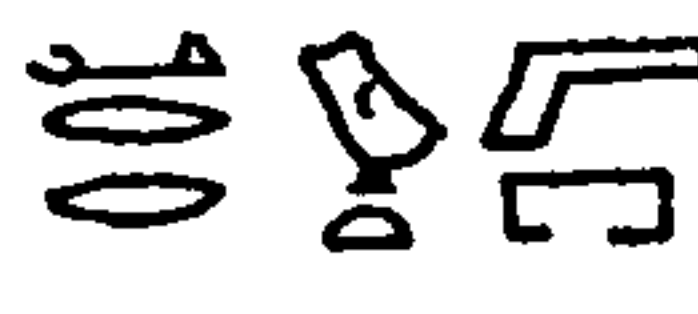



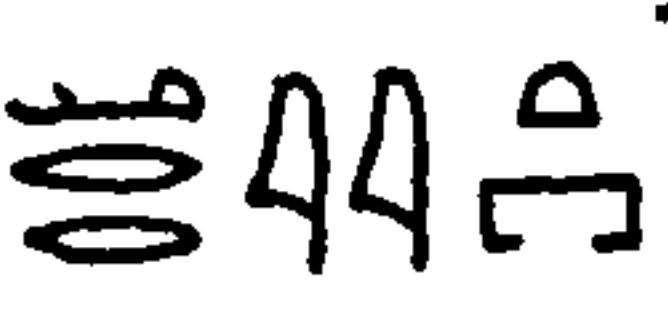
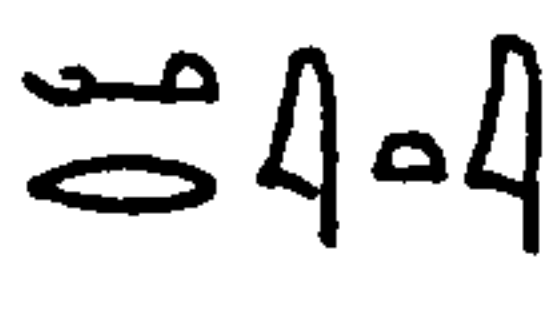

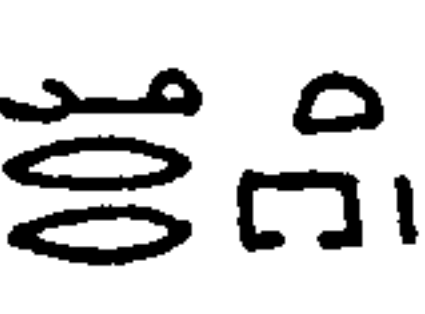
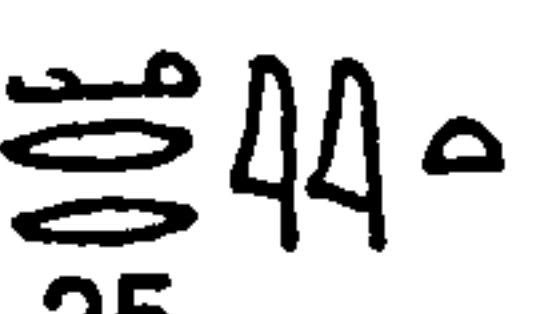

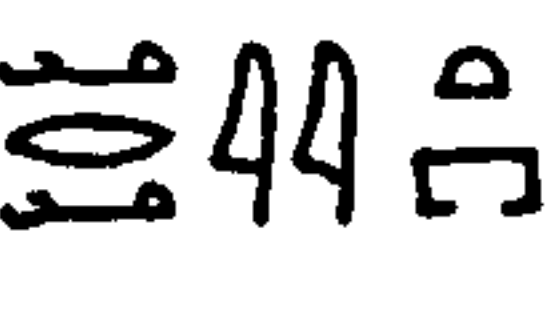
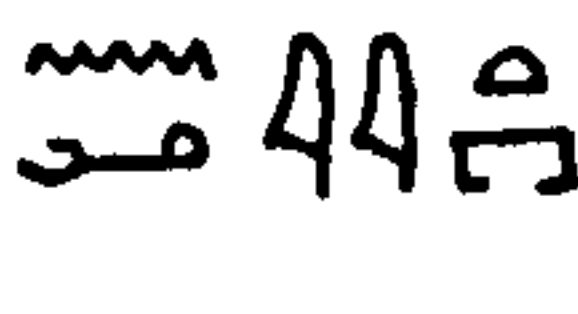
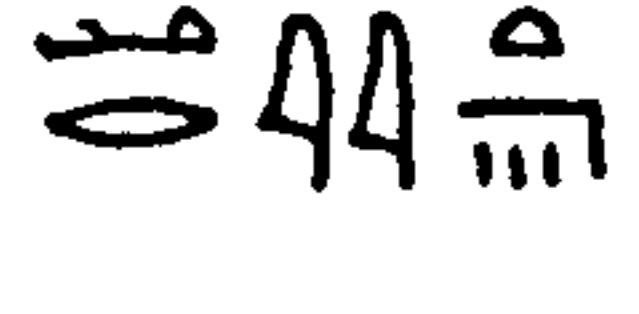
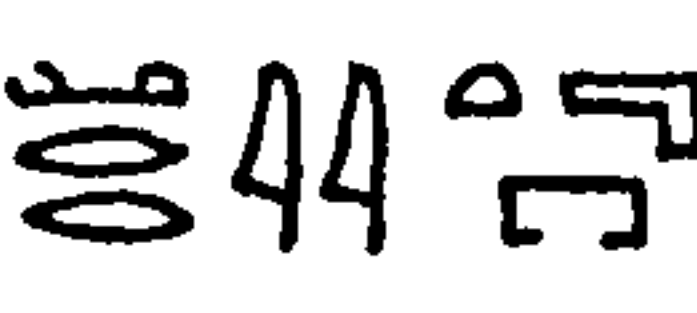
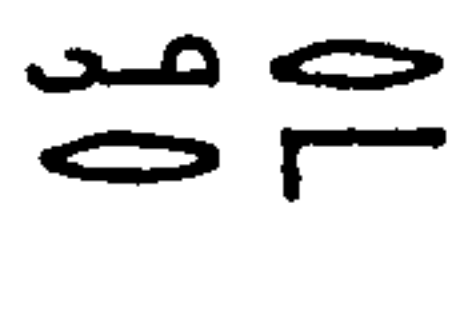
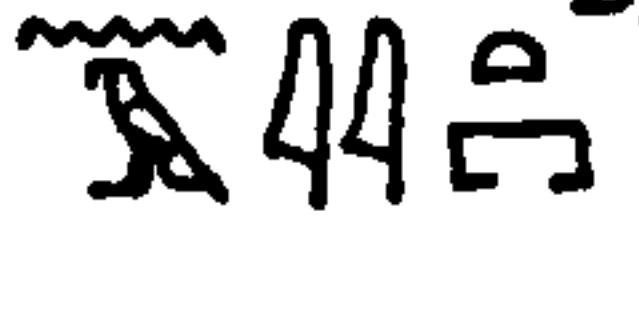
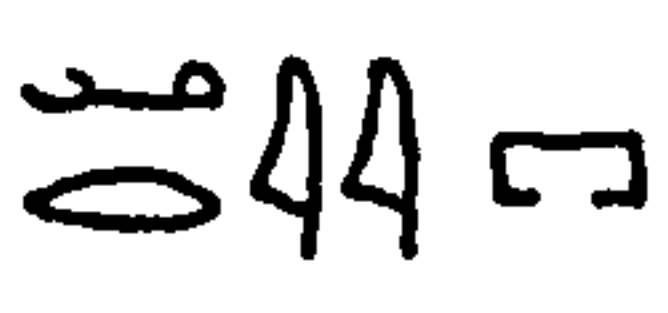
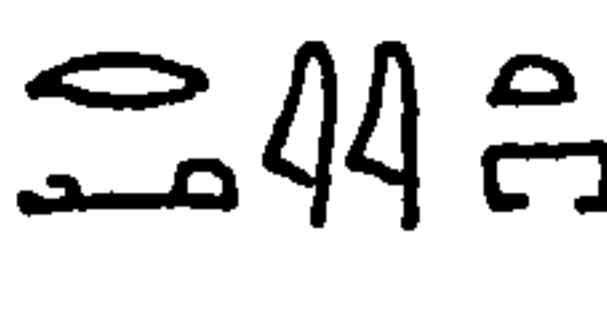

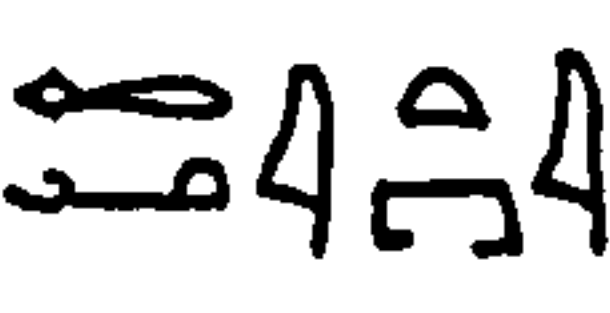
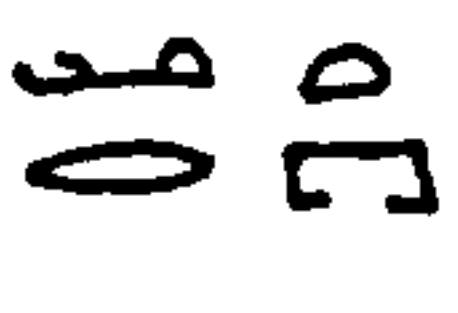
The balance of the evidence would tend to support the view that an 'ryt was a lintel, since it was clearly a part of the door-frame

and usually occurs in association with the door-jambs (bnšw).

The term is found alone on an ostrakon from Deir El-Bahari on which three masons are described as "those who worked on the outer ‘ryt (‘ryt n bnr)".¹¹ Hayes¹² translates ‘ryt here as "the outer door-jamb", but the evidence cited by Gardiner and quoted above shows that ‘ryt is more likely to have referred to a lintel.

- 1 Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), pl.IX, 4, recto, 4; Carter and Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 146-148, passim.
- 2 Ibid., 146 (Ost. Gardiner 46).
- 3 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Text volume, 264; Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, II, 326.
- 4 Loc. cit..
- 5 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 147.
- 6 Ibid., 157-158.
- 7 Ibid., 146 (3).
- 8 Ibid., 146 (Ost. Gardiner 46).
- 9 Budge, loc. cit.; Naville, loc. cit..
- 10 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 147.
- 11 Hayes, loc. cit..
- 12 Ibid., 33.


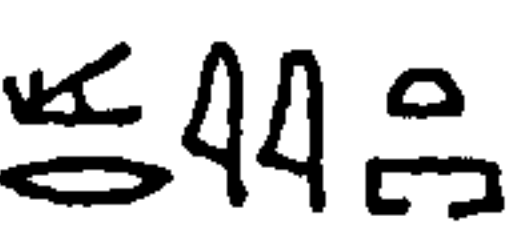
'rryt

	Dyn. V, VI ¹		Dyn. V ²		Dyn. V ³
	Dyn. V, VI ⁴		Dyn. V, VI ⁵		Dyn. VI ⁶
	Dyn. VI ⁷		Dyn. VI ⁸		Dyn. VI ⁹
	Dyn. VI ¹⁰		Dyn. VI(?) ¹¹		Dyn. VI ¹²
	Dyn. VI ¹³		Dyn. VI ¹⁴		Dyn. VI ¹⁵
	Dyn. VI ¹⁶		1st Int., ¹⁷ Dyn. XII		Dyn. XI ¹⁸
	Dyn. XII, XVIII ¹⁹		Dyn. XII ²⁰		Dyn. XII, XVIII, XXV, Ptol. ²¹
	Dyn. XII ²²		Dyn. XII ²³		Dyn. XVIII ²⁴
	Dyn. XVIII, XIX ²⁵		N.K. ²⁶		Dyn. XIX ²⁷
	N.K. ²⁸		Dyn. XIX ²⁹		Dyn. XIX or XX ³⁰
	Dyn. XX ³¹		Dyn. XXII ³²		Ptol. ³³
	Ptol. ³⁴		Ptol. ³⁵		



There are a number of problems connected with this word which have to be resolved before an attempt can be made to elucidate the meaning.

First of all, it must be recognised that all the different writings given above are to be understood as variants of one word. The Wörterbuch gave six separate entries under; 'rwt,³⁶ 'rrwt,³⁷ 'ryt,³⁸ 'r'yt,³⁹ n'yt⁴⁰ and r'yt.⁴¹ All of these, with the exceptions of n'yt and r'yt which do not occur in Middle Egyptian, were grouped together by Faulkner under an entry 'rrwt⁴² and this does seem to be the correct interpretation. The reason for the many variant writings would seem to be the fact that this term has its etymological origin in the verb i'r/r "to rise up, to approach".⁴³ Another noun from the same verbal

stem, i'rt "uraeus" ⁴⁴ could also show many different forms, such as; 'r't, i'r't, 'rrt, 'r'rt, i'r'rt ⁴⁵ so it is not surprising that 'rryt should have so many variants. The earliest texts, of the Fifth Dynasty, write the word as 'rrt (once 'rt) but later in the Old Kingdom the usual form was 'rrwt, less often 'rwt. In the Middle Kingdom the most frequent writing was 'rryt and this has been adopted here as the heading for this entry, since it is the most common form of the word in Middle Egyptian. In the New Kingdom the spelling 'r'yt occurs as do the variants r'yt, because of the reversal of ' and r, and n'yt which reflects the phonetic similarity of r and n.

It has also been suggested, previously, that the writings  and  are to be read as 'rryt. ⁴⁶ There is, however, no evidence that either initial sign could be interpreted as 'r ⁴⁷ and both of these are, in fact, variants of the word rryt (q.v.); the ploughshare having been substituted for the lion through the confusion of two similar hieratic signs. ⁴⁸

The term 'rryt must also be distinguished from the noun 'ryt ⁴⁹ which described a smaller architectural element, although, undoubtedly, they must have had a common origin in the verb i'r/r.


One further problem is the form of the determinative of 'rryt in the Old Kingdom. From the Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period the most frequently used determinative was  but in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period the determinative was entirely different and has usually been interpreted as the sign  "corner of a wall". ⁵⁰ This is the determinative of knbt "corner" ⁵¹ and other related words from the same stem. ⁵² When used for words with the stem knb the sign seems to have been usually a right-angle with sides of equal length. However, the various forms of the determinative of 'rryt in the Old Kingdom, as demonstrated above, consistently show one side longer than the other and also, in several cases, show a form in which the vertical side descends at an obtuse angle to the horizontal. The use of this particular determinative is rare after the Old Kingdom although there are a small number of examples from the Middle and New Kingdoms. The nature of this sign, which is distinct from that used to determine knbt, will be discussed further below.

Various meanings for 'rryt have been suggested and the word has been discussed often. The Wörterbuch includes such translations as; "door" and "seat of administration" for both 'rwt ⁵³ and 'rrwt. ⁵⁴

"hall" for 'r'yt⁵⁵ and "house" for n'yt.⁵⁶ Faulkner, under 'rrwt, gives a list of possible translations; "gate, leaf of a double door, lintel, hall of judgement, dwelling, home".⁵⁷ Gardiner, discussing the use of 'ryt on the reverse of the Turin papyrus with the plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV, suggested that the original meaning of 'rryt was a "half-lintel", later a full lintel, then a door and finally a court of justice.⁵⁸ The word which occurs in this text is, in fact, the small architectural element 'ryt which, as was noted above, is to be distinguished from the term under discussion here. Gardiner, in later publications, considered the usual meaning of 'rryt to have been "gate" and that it was later extended in meaning to refer to a place of judgement.⁵⁹

Helck has suggested that the 'rryt was the building at the door through which access was gained to the royal palace, "Die Wache".⁶⁰ He also noted that documents could be deposited within the 'rryt⁶¹ and officials tried there⁶² and that the importance of the 'rryt is indicated by the fact that it was the Vizier himself who was responsible for appointing the officials of the 'rryt.⁶³ Helck then discusses the other officials of the "Wache".⁶⁴

This summary of the functions of the 'rryt is certainly valid for the New Kingdom, however it is generally recognised that the use of 'rryt to describe a hall or court attached to the palace administration evolved from an original and more specific use of 'rryt as the name of a particular architectural feature, in the same way as the meaning "council"⁶⁵ for knbt grew out of its original meaning "corner".⁶⁶ This original meaning of 'rryt is usually understood to have been a "gate" or "door" at the entrance to the palace.

However, if 'rryt had been used, originally, to describe an entrance of any kind it could have been expected that some writings, particularly in the Old Kingdom, would have indicated this by the choice of determinatives, since the Egyptian language was well-provided with signs which were regularly used to determine words such as sb3 or '3. This is not the case. In the Pyramid Texts a sign which appears in various forms but which is basically  is used with 'rryt.⁶⁷ This determinative was used principally for the term rwt (q.v.), which was the name for a false-door. It depicts the complex niche-structure of the door in section. The use of this

sign to determine 'rryt is probably an error due to the confusion of two similar-sounding words rwt and (in its Old Kingdom spelling) 'rrwt. The only other determinative which could support a translation of "door" is found in a Ptolemaic text.⁶⁸

From the Middle Kingdom onwards the determinative □ is indicative of the extended use of 'rryt to describe some kind of hall, but, in the Old Kingdom, the distinctive determinatives do not support a primary meaning of "door" or "gate".

It is now necessary to examine the textual evidence for 'rryt before any conclusions can be drawn concerning its original use.

The earliest known examples of 'rryt occur, in the form 'rrt, in the archives of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare at Abusir. Most often 'rrt is used as the name of a part of the temple to which various officials are assigned for duty.⁶⁹ These places can not be identified with any degree of certainty as the evidence is insufficient. However it is possible that in some cases the 'rrt is to be identified with either the 'rrt h3t or the 'rrt hntt which are also mentioned in the papyri and for which identifications have been suggested.

Posener-Kriéger has already pointed out the connection between the 'rrt h3t, the pr wrw and the 'rrt hntt.⁷⁰ The pr wrw can be identified, without any doubt, as the columned "vestibule" at the front of the temple⁷¹ and Posener-Kriéger suggested that the 'rrt h3t was the name of the white-plastered terrace which ran along the facade of the temple.⁷² The 'rrt hntt is less easy to identify although it was clearly situated in the vicinity of the pr wrw and Posener-Kriéger does not commit herself to a firm identification of this 'rrt.⁷³ In two places, at least, the pr wrw appears to be a subdivision of the 'rrt⁷⁴ so it can not positively be claimed that all three elements were separate entities. While assuming that the general meaning of 'rryt was "une porte" Posener-Kriéger suggested that, in these papyri, "le mot paraît avoir un sens plus administratif qu'architectural."⁷⁵ She later added "'rrt, on le voit, ne désigne pas un élément d'architecture mais les abords d'un édifice ou d'une partie d'édifice."⁷⁶ Since the name 'rrt could appear in the duty rotas alone, without a qualifying adjective, it must have referred to a particular part of the temple which could itself be regarded as one area while, at the same time, it could be subdivided

for greater administrative convenience. Possibly, in the context of this temple, 'rrt referred to the entire area in front of the wsht. This included the vestibule, pr wrw, while the adjectives h3t and hnntt would have been used to specify the outer and inner areas of the 'rrt.

Other 'rrt were named in the papyri although it is not possible to identify these with existing remains. These include an 'rrt of the solar temple of Neferirkare, St-ib-r', the site of which has not yet been discovered;⁷⁷ an 'rrt of the w3-barque⁷⁸ which Posener-Kriéger suggested was an area where grain could be stored after being unloaded from the barque prior to its transportation to the temple⁷⁹ and an 'rrt nhp⁸⁰ which may have been an area close to the river where pottery for use in the temple was made.⁸¹

In the Fifth Dynasty, therefore, 'rryt was certainly neither a door nor a gate, nor had it yet acquired a link with the palace administration or the courts of justice. It is most likely that the basic meaning of 'rryt was rather less specific than has been previously recognised. The suggestion of Posener-Kriéger that 'rryt was the "abords d'un édifice" would seem to be correct. This would certainly agree with the etymological origin of the word in the verb i'r/r which can mean "to approach" as well as "to rise up". The true meaning of 'rryt was the "approaches" to a building. This could mean the area immediately in front of the entrance, or even, in the case of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare, the front portion of the building.

It remains now to examine other texts in which 'rryt occurs to see if this conclusion can be upheld.

The other most important examples of 'rryt in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period come from the decrees set up by various kings in the temple of Min at Koptos. Most of these are described as being placed "at the 'rrwt of the pr of Min of Koptos."⁸² Since these decrees would have been intended to be accessible to as many people as possible, they must have been at the front of the temple to which the greatest number of people would have been admitted. Hayes has noted that these decrees, (which were not found in situ), had been originally set in brick walls but, as they were not very weathered, they could not have been too openly exposed to the elements. He therefore suggested that they had been originally set into the reveal of a doorway or the walls of a deep vestibule,

similar to those found in contemporary pyramid temples.⁸³

The basic plan of an Old Kingdom cultus temple is still a matter of speculation since so few early remains have survived on any site. It is therefore not possible to reconstruct the entrance to the temple at Koptos. However the evidence of the Koptos decrees would suggest again that 'rryt referred to the front part of the temple.

In the Pyramid Texts 'rryt does not occur in useful contexts⁸⁴ although two examples would again suggest that it was situated at the entrance to a building.⁸⁵

Further occurrences from the Old Kingdom include the use of 'rryt in the titles iry 'rrt⁸⁶ and imy-r 'rrwt⁸⁷ and in the funerary invocation; "(I) will destroy their survivors upon earth, (I) will not allow their 'rrt to be established."⁸⁸

In the Middle Kingdom 'rryt is first found in the title whmw n⁸⁹ 'rryt which recurs in the New Kingdom. It is also used in the titles šmsw 'rryt,⁹⁰ s3w 'rryt,⁹¹ sš 'rryt⁹² and the unusual imy-r w n 'rryt.⁹³

The title whmw n 'rryt, in particular, sheds some light on the position and function of the 'rryt in connection with the palace administration. The "herald" would greet the petitioners outside the entrance to the palace, or the office concerned, and would guide the visitors inside to the rryt (q.v.) where he would await the summons into the inner apartments. It is possible, particularly in the Middle Kingdom, that 'rryt was the term applied to the area immediately before the entrance to a private house or a palace. This area can be seen, from models like those of Meketre⁹⁴ or from soul-houses,⁹⁵ to have been lightly roofed with a wooden canopy, usually supported by two wooden columns. It may be this light wooden roof which is depicted in the determinatives found with 'rryt in the Old Kingdom.⁹⁶

Other texts of the Middle Kingdom support the view that the 'rryt was the "approach" to a building. In the story of the Eloquent Peasant The High Steward was petitioned r pg3 n 'rryt⁹⁷ "at the entrance of the 'rryt". The fact that the peasant petitioned the Steward in the 'rryt is not in itself an indication at this date of a connection between the 'rryt and the administration of justice, as the peasant petitions Rensi wherever he happens to find him. The use of pg3 for the entrance to the 'rryt is of interest as this would indicate that 'rryt is being used of the "portico" at the front of the house. This was open on one side to the courtyard so that, if the peasant was

standing there, making his speech, while the Steward stood under the canopy, protected from the sun, then pg3 would be a more appropriate term for the entrance than words such as rwt or sb3 which would imply that there was an actual doorway or gate involved.

A private stela of the official Wepwawet-aa describes his reception at the palace; "the seal-bearers who are in the pr-nsw, the people ('nhw) who are at the 'rryt see my admittance to the pr-nsw."⁹⁸


Increasingly, from the Middle Kingdom, the 'rryt became an administrative department. This is shown by the fact that the 'rryt could own and control transport-barges.⁹⁹ The administrative function of the 'rryt is indicated most clearly in the New Kingdom, particularly in the texts from the tomb of Rekhmire where the judicial aspect of the 'rryt is very evident.¹⁰⁰ Similarly the Inscription of Mes shows that legal documents could be deposited in the 'rryt,¹⁰¹ while other texts relate that the knbt-council could meet in the 'rryt.¹⁰²

Apart from this use of 'rryt to describe a courtroom or an administrative department, there are also indications that the word retained its original meaning.


A stela of king Ahmose describes defeated foreigners standing in humility "at his 'rryt",¹⁰³ while a later text, of the reign of Tanutamun, gives a detailed description of a similar scene when the king, within his palace, is told that the Delta-chieftains are waiting at the 'rryt.¹⁰⁴ The king leaves the palace building and finds the chieftains prostrating themselves. The palace 'rryt was also used as a reception-area for taxes¹⁰⁵ and other produce.¹⁰⁶




Finally the 'rryt occurs in the Book of the Dead where it is one of the obstacles which the deceased must pass in order to enter into the Underworld. Usually, in such contexts, 'rryt is translated as "gate" or "door" but, as with sbht, the convenient translation is inaccurate. It is noteworthy that some vignettes show the guardians of the 'rryt sitting outside of the doorway rather than within, indicating that the 'rryt was the approach to the door and not the door itself.¹⁰⁷

The generally accepted translations of "door" or "gate" are therefore unsuitable for 'rryt and should not be retained. The original meaning, and one which seems to have been preserved throughout Egyptian history, was the "approach" to a building. Basically this described the area immediately before a door, whether of a temple, palace or


private house. In the latter two cases this area could be lightly roofed to provide some protection from the heat for those awaiting admittance, and it may be this light roof which is depicted in the determinatives of the Old Kingdom. The fact that this sign is only rarely found in later periods, having been generally replaced by , is an indication of the extension in meaning of 'rryt to describe a "meeting-place" or a "courtroom". This use of the word easily developed from its original meaning. It is a custom, in many countries, for people to gather around the entrances of buildings in order to discuss affairs or to resolve communal problems. In an ancient Egyptian private house the natural place to meet would be the courtyard, under the shade of the canopied portico where mastabas could be situated out of the sun's heat. Consequently the name of the portico continued to be used for such a meeting-place, even when it had acquired a more permanent form as a part of the official administration. This development in the use of 'rryt is well illustrated by a Nineteenth Dynasty text which describes a meeting of the knbt-council "(at) the 'r'yt of Pharaoh.....beside Hrw-ib-hr-m3't, the great tr of Ramesses-Miamun...." 108

It is, therefore, impossible to suggest one translation for 'rryt which would be acceptable for every occasion on which the word is found, so each text must be judged individually, taking the context into account, and a decision made as to whether "approach", "portico" or "meeting-place" would be the most appropriate translation.

- 1 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pls.XIIA,b and c; XCVIIA, A4; the remaining writings of this form are all damaged; ibid., pls.VIIA, A_j and B; XA, C; XCIIIA, A; Pyr. 392a.
- 2 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls.IVA, g and h; LXXXVIA, A2 and B; XCIIA, B (this last in the plural).
- 3 Ibid., pl.XIA, 1 and 2.
- 4 Piankoff, The Pyramid of Unas, pl.16 (Pyr. 292d. This spell (No. 254) also occurs in the pyramid of Teti, the texts from which are reproduced, in hand-copy, by Sethe (Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten). Sethe gives the form of the determinatives in Teti as  but, as he also gives this form for the writing in Unas, it can not be relied upon for accuracy.
- 5 Piankoff, op. cit., pl.26 (Pyr. 392a. This text also occurs in


- the pyramids of Teti and Pepi II (see note 1) where the forms of the determinatives are again in doubt.
- 6 Pyr., 1740b.
 - 7 Pyr., 952a. (This writing occurs in the pyramid of Pepi I while in that of Merenre the determinative is of the form  .)
 - 8 Pyr., 952a. (Pepi II).
 - 9 Pyr., 2263b (published by Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts, 79); Urk., I, 292, 9; 306, 10.
 - 10 Pyr., 1869b. (Pepi II).
 - 11 Lugin, Ausgewählte Denkmäler aus Ägyptischen Sammlungen in Schweden, pl.XI.
 - 12 Junker, Giza, XI, 71, abb.40 and pl.VII, c.
 - 13 Capart, Chambre funéraire de la sixième Dynastie, pl.V.
 - 14 Urk., I, 218, 14.
 - 15 Urk., I, 282, 11.
 - 16 Urk., I, 286, 3; Lutz, Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones, pl.24, No.46.
 - 17 Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie, 11, 3; De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, VII, 107 (spell 901).
 - 18 Gardiner and Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, pl.VI, 4-5.
 - 19 Koefoed-Petersen, Les Steles Egyptiennes, pl.15; Simpson, Papyrus Reisner II, pl.10A, G, 3.
 - 20 Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XVIII.
 - 21 Pierret, Inscr Louvre, II, 104, (Louvre C3, 15); Urk., IV, 1107, 5; 1114, 5; 1684, 1; Urk., III, 23, 10; 72, 3; Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.83, 9; et al.
 - 22 Fakhry, The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur, II, Part II, 91, fig.427A damaged text of the same official (ibid., 72, fig.392 and pl.LXX) has '//////]44  which is probably to be restored as [rr]yt.); Newberry, El-Bersheh, I, pl.XX.
 - 23 Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh, pl.16, 7.
 - 24 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II, 93, 3. (The copy given by Mariette of this text (Catalogue generale d'Abydos, 96, No.544) has  in fount. Although originally ascribed to the Middle Kingdom this text, which can be dated to the reign of Intef-aa, belongs to the Seventeenth Dynasty. See


wh3 p.87, note 4.

- 25 Urk., IV, 1073, 3; 2155, 18; 2160, 17; Erman, ZÄS 17 (1879), 72.
- 26 British Museum, Select Papyri, I, pl.XX, 2; XXI, 8.
- 27 Zivie, C.M., Giza au deuxième Millénaire, 204.
- 28 Budge, The Book of the Dead (1898), Text, 327 (Budge gives the form of the determinative as  but it is in fact as shown here. See B.M. 10477, 26.)
- 29 Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 701.
- 30 Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri found by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum, 1895-6, pl.IXA, 80.
- 31 Korostovtsev, BIFAO, 45 (1947), 157 and pl.†, 8.
- 32 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 16,9.
- 33 Bergmann, Eine Sarcophaginschrift aus der Ptolemäerzeit, 9, 1.
- 34 Dumichen, Altaegyptische Kalenderinschriften, pl.LX, c, 9.
- 35 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 87, bottom.
- 36 Wb., I, 210, 12-17.
- 37 Wb., I, 211, 8-14.
- 38 Wb., I, 209, 6.
- 39 Wb., I, 209, 13-14.
- 40 Wb., II, 207, 16.
- 41 Wb., II, 403, 1.
- 42 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 45.
- 43 Wb., I, 41, 14-24.
- 44 Wb., I, 42, 1-4.
- 45 Erman, ZÄS 46 (1909-1910), 96-104.
- 46 Erman, ZÄS 20, (1882), 2, 1; Muller, ZÄS 26 (1888), 90-92; Spiegelberg, Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches, 52-53.
- 47 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, E23 and U13.
- 48 Ibid., 439; Gardiner, JEA 15 (1929), 54; Compare Möller, Hieratische Palaeographie, I-II, No.125 and 468.
- 49 Wb., I, 209, 5. See above p.41-42.
- 50 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 038.
- 51 Wb., V, 53, 5-6.
- 52 Wb., V, 53-54.
- 53 Wb., I, 210, 12-17.
- 54 Wb., I, 211, 8-14.
- 55 Wb., I, 209, 13-14.

- 56 Wb., II, 207, 16.
- 57 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 45.
- 58 Gardiner and Carter, JEA 4 (1917), 147.
- 59 Gardiner, ZÄS 60 (1925), 65; Gardiner and Sethe, op. cit., 22; Gardiner, Grammar, 558; Sign List, 038.
- 60 Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, 65.
- 61 Quoting Gardiner, The Inscription of Mes, S, 6.
- 62 Quoting Urk., IV, 1107, 5.
- 63 Quoting Urk., IV, 1114, 5.
- 64 Helck, op. cit., 66ff.
- 65 Wb., V, 53, 9-21; 54, 1-11.
- 66 Wb., V, 53, 5-6.
- 67 Pyr., 952a; 1740b.
- 68 Bergmann, loc. cit..
- 69 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls.IVA, h; VIIA, j; IXA, 1; XIA, 1 and 2; LXXVA, N.
- 70 Posener-Kriéger, Archives Néferirkarê, 27-29; 511.
- 71 Ibid., 496-499.
- 72 Ibid., 511.
- 73 Ibid., 28-29, 514.
- 74 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.IVA, 9; VIIA, j.
- 75 Posener-Kriéger, op. cit., 28.
- 76 Ibid., 511.
- 77 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XCIIA, B.
- 78 Ibid., pl.XCVIIA, A4.
- 79 Posener-Kriéger, op. cit., 512-514.
- 80 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XIA, 1 and 2.
- 81 Posener-Kriéger, op. cit., 512.
- 82 Urk., I, 282, 11; 286, 3; 292, 9; also ibid., I, 306, 10 "at the 'rrwt of [every r-pr] in which your monuments are."
- 83 Hayes, JEA 32 (1946), 6-7.
- 84 Pyr., 392a; 1740b; 1869b; 2263b.
- 85 Pyr., 520a; 952a.
- 86 Lugin, loc. cit..
- 87 Lutz, loc. cit.; Junker, loc. cit..
- 88 Capart, loc. cit.. Compare also Urk., I, 218, 14.
- 89 Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, II, pl.XV, 34; Černý, The Inscriptions of Sinai, I, pl.XXII, 79 and 80; Koefoed-

- Petersen, loc. cit.; Couyat and Montet, Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât, 41, No.19; pl.V; Urk., IV, 965, 5; 969, 11; 972, 15.
- 90 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 103, s; Newberry, loc. cit..
- 91 Griffith, op. cit., pl.XXX, 43.
- 92 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, pls.19, (15, 8); 20, (19, 1); 26, (25, 19).
- 93 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 249.
- 94 Winlock, Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt, pls.11-15.
- 95 Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, pls.XV-XXII
- 96 Compare, for example, the form of the canopy over the throne on the Narmer mace-head in Oxford (Quibell, Hierakonpolis, I, pl. XXVI, B) and the profile of sunshades (Fischer, Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin 24 (1958), 29ff.
- 97 De Buck, Egyptian Reading Book, 95, 13.
- 98 Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke, 74, 14.
- 99 De Buck, op. cit., 91, 14; Simpson, loc. cit..
- 100 Urk., IV, 1107, 5; 1108, 4; 1114, 5; 1115, 1 and 11; 1117, 1.
See also; Ibid., 2155, 18; 2160, 17.
- 101 Gardiner, The Inscription of Mes, S, 6.
- 102 Erman, loc. cit.; British Museum, Select Papyri, I, pl.XX, 2.
- 103 Urk., IV, 18, 4.
- 104 Ibid., III, 72, 3. Compare also, Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.83, 9.
- 105 Urk., III, 23, 10.
- 106 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl.16, 19.
- 107 Budge, The Book of the Dead, The Papyrus of Ani, I, pls.11 and 12; Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.CLIV.
- 108 Erman, loc. cit..

 Dyn. XVIII¹

 ^{wšḥt}
 Dyn. XVIII²

This term is known only from blocks of the red quartzite sanctuary of Hatshepsut from the temple of Amun at Karnak. It occurs twice in the list of temples in the Theban area. The first example gives the name of the wšḥt tpt, enclosed within a hwt-sign.³ Lacau and Chevrier have suggested that this "first wšḥt" was the first way-station on the processional route from the temple of Luxor to that of Karnak.⁴ The "second wšḥt," wšḥt sn-nwt, is also named,⁵ as would have been others if the sanctuary had been found intact.

That a wšḥt was a way-station is certain from both the evidence of the sanctuary blocks and the etymological origin of the term in the verbal stem wšḥ.⁶









Another series of blocks shows the sacred barque resting in various wšḥwt when in procession, and being carried from one to another.⁷ The scenes show that a wšḥt was a shrine on a pedestal within which was a plinth on which the barque could rest.⁸ The fact that these are dignified with the name of hwt would suggest that they were permanent stone structures.⁹

Westendorf¹⁰ has suggested that wšḥt is the origin of the Coptic ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲟ¹¹ although no etymology is given for this term by Černý.¹²

- 1 Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 82, §134; 83, §135.
- 2 Ibid., I, 161, §207; 163, §214; 164, §216; 165, §217; 165, §218; 166, §219; 167, §220; 167, §221; 168, §222 (see also Urk., IV, 379).
- 3 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 82, §134.
- 4 Loc. cit..
- 5 Ibid., 83, §135.
- 6 Wb., I, 253-257. For wšḥt, see; Ibid., I, 258, 4; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 54.
- 7 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 161-168.
- 8 At the time of writing, volume II of Lacau and Chevrier's publication has not appeared. Photographs of two of these blocks showing the wšḥwt can be seen in Legrain and Naville, L'aile nord du Pylône d'Amenophis III à Karnak, pl.XIV.

- 9 For a discussion of these wḥwt see; Foucart, BIFAO 24 (1924), 94-100.
- 10 Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 284.
- 11 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 24b (αζο B).
- 12 Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary.

w3d

 Dyn. XII ¹	 Dyn. XVIII & Ptol. ²	 Dyn. XVIII, XX, XXI, XXV, XXX ³ also in sing. & dual.
 Dyn. XIX ⁴	 Dyn. XIX & Ptol. ⁵	 Dyn. XXV ⁶ sing.
 Dyn. XXX ⁷	 Philip Arrhidaeus ⁸ sing.	








All writings of w3d are found in the plural unless stated otherwise.




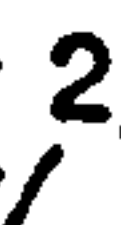

















The single-stem papyriform column is first found in Egypt in the enclosure of the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara, where the slender columns are engaged.⁹ After this, the type was not common until the New Kingdom although there is evidence that it did occur in the Middle Kingdom. A scene in tomb 5 at El-Bersheh clearly shows a single-stem papyriform column¹⁰ and there is also evidence that such columns existed in the town at Kahun.¹¹ However this type of column does not seem to have been popular in Egypt before the New Kingdom.¹²

The papyriform cluster column first appeared in the Fifth Dynasty¹³ and examples are known from the Middle Kingdom.¹⁴ By the New Kingdom this type had virtually replaced the lotiform column, to which it bears a strong resemblance,¹⁵ and which had previously been more popular.


Essentially, therefore, the development of the two papyriform column types was the same. Although both are found prior to the New Kingdom the examples increased greatly in number from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward. Since both types represent the same plant-form, the papyrus, it is possible that both were described by the same word, w3d. This certainly seems to be indicated by the earliest extant example where papyriform cluster columns are described as w3dw, a term which one would expect to have been applied primarily to campaniform columns as this is the type which the w3d sign depicts.

The text is on several pieces of various papyriform cluster columns found on the ancient site of Crocodilopolis (Medinet el-Fayum). Each column bore the same inscription which described work carried out by Amenemhat III for the god Sobek. The king made a wsht with w3dw and s3wt in granite.¹⁶ This is the material of which the columns are

made so there can be no doubt that the text refers to the columns on which it is inscribed. The copy of the text given by Habachi, which is in fount, shows the standard papyrus plant hieroglyph, as does the copy, given by Lepsius, of a part of one of the columns which he found being used as a threshold in Medinet el-Fayum.¹⁷ However the only photograph reproduced by Habachi which is clear enough to allow the w3d-signs to be distinguished,¹⁸ shows that the signs are of the form given in the first of the writings above. The open papyrus plant is intended even though the columns themselves are of cluster-form. In the New Kingdom, when such columns were often erected, the ideogram , usually in the plural, was used to describe them.¹⁹ The reading of this sign is problematical. If both papyriform column-types were called w3dw, then one would have to assume that, in texts such as those of the Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amun at Karnak which describe the hall as phr.ti m   hr    ,²⁰ both groups are to be read as w3dw. The papyriform cluster columns of Amenhotep III at Luxor seem to have been called njbwt (q.v.) which was originally the name for lotiform columns and it is possible that the ideogram was to be read as njbwt.²¹ However this is an isolated case and actual papyriform cluster columns are, more frequently, called w3dw.

In the second hypostyle hall of the temple of Seti I at Abydos there are three rows of columns, with twelve in each. The front row is of straight-shafted cylindrical columns, while the other two rows are stylised papyriform cluster columns.²² A damaged ceiling inscription in the hall contains the group                     

columns were intended.

It is possible that, in all these examples, w3d was being used to mean simply "column", but it is more likely that both papyriform column types were called w3d and that the ideogram  is to be read in this way.

There can, however, be no doubt that the single-stem papyriform column was, consistently, referred to as w3d. This is true of the columns erected by Tuthmosis III in the hall between Pylons 4 and 5 in the temple of Amun at Karnak, where the king added to the number of columns erected by Tuthmosis I.²⁸ As Borchardt has demonstrated, the columns of the earlier king differed slightly from those of Tuthmosis III, but both sets were single-stem papyriform columns.²⁹ No capitals belonging to these columns have been found but they would have been campaniform. Columns in the same hall were also called w3dw by Amenhotep II who completed the decoration started by his father.³⁰ In the Nineteenth Dynasty w3dw was used of the aisle of campaniform papyrus-columns in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak³¹ and also of a similar aisle in the Ramesseum.³²

In the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Montuemhat recorded building, for Mut, at Karnak, a h3yt (q.v.) with twenty-four w3d-columns in sandstone.³³ Both Wreszinski and Leclant have suggested that this was a "porch", similar to those erected by Taharqa in the Amun temple enclosure.³⁴


A text of Nectanebo II over the north colonnade of the portico of the temple of Hibis in El-Kharga oasis, records that the king constructed "beautiful w3dw in sandstone".³⁵ The engaged columns of this portico were of three types; palmiform, open-flowered lotiform and campaniform papyrus columns.³⁶ In this case one can only assume that w3dw was used as a term for columns in general and did not refer to the papyriform examples alone.

An interesting use of w3d occurs at Hermopolis where a Thirtieth Dynasty building text employs the term to describe columns with Hathor-headed sistrum capitals.³⁷

In the temples of the Ptolemaic period the columns are of many varied forms and the papyriform column w3d occurs along with other detailed ideograms.³⁸ W3d is not found in either demotic or Coptic.

Although w3d was used primarily to describe the single-stem papyriform column, it was also the name of the papyriform-cluster column and, from the Thirtieth Dynasty, it could be used of other types.

- 1 Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88; LD., II, 118g.
- 2 Urk., IV, 933, 7 (these w3d columns, in a text from tomb 86 at Thebes, are coloured green on the shaft and white on the base and capital); De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36 No.72 (July 1961), 285.
- 3 Urk., IV, 842, 1; 1328, 1-3; 1331, 11 and 12; LD., III, 243a; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Rameses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amun, pls.22, A, 18; 23, A, 18; Wreszmannski, Orientalistische Literatur-zeitung 13 (1910), pl.II (after p.387), 13; Roeder, ASAE 52 (1954), 79, D, 12.
- 4 KRI, I, 141, 9.
- 5 Ibid., 202, 9; 203, 8; 205, 2 and 9; De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36 No.71 (January 1961), 87.
- 6 Yoyotte, Ch. d'Eg. 28 No.55 (January 1953), 34.
- 7 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Egyptian Expedition, The Temple of Hibis in El-Khargeh Oasis, III, pl.64, middle.
- 8 Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 8.
- 9 Lauer, La Pyramide à degrés, II, pls.LXXXII-LXXXIII.
- 10 Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh, II, pl.XVII.
- 11 Petrie, Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, pl.VI, 5.
- 12 For a description of the development of both papyriform column types see; Borchardt, Die Aegyptische Pflanzensäule, 25-43.
- 13 Id., Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re', 11, abb.5; Id., Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a3hu-re', I, 53, abb.59-61.
- 14 LD., I, 47 (columns of Amenemhat III from Hawara); Habachi, op. cit., 85-95 (also of Amenemhat III from Medinet El-Fayum).
- 15 See nḥbwt, note 14.
- 16 Habachi, op. cit., 88.
- 17 LD., II, 118g.
- 18 Habachi, op. cit., 91, fig.6.
- 19 E.g. KRI, I, 201, 5; 205, 9; Christophe, BIFAO 60 (1960), 79.
- 20 KRI, I, 202, 9.
- 21 Since nḥbwt and w3dw are of different gender it may, one day, be possible to decide on the reading of the ideogram if a text were to be discovered in which the gender of the word was indicated. One inscription in which this may seem to be possible (Budge, Some Account of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the possession of Lady Meux of Theobalds Park, Waltham Cross, 143) has in fact been

- wrongly copied by Budge. The signs reproduced as  are, in fact, to be read ↓↓↓ (Ruffle and Kitchen, Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, 70, pl.VIII; KRI, III, 197, 4). Consequently any discussions as to the identification of these "columns" is now irrelevant (see, for example Barguet, Temple, 330, note 1; Ruffle and Kitchen, op. cit., 73).
- 22 Calverley, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, IV, pl.57.
- 23 Ibid., IV, pl.62, D.
- 24 KRI, I, 186, 10.
- 25 Capart, Thebes, fig.45. These columns were made up from older drums which were transported to Karnak from the temple of Horemheb at Medinet Habu, see; Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 79, and fig.69.
- 26 LD, III, 243a (also published by Champollion in Notices Descriptives, II, 222.
- 27 Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 147, 3.
- 28 Urk., IV, 842, 1.
- 29 Borchardt, Baugeschichte, 11-13.
- 30 Urk., IV, 1328, 1-3; 1331, 11 and 12.
- 31 KRI, I, 202, 9; 203, 8; 205, 2 and 9.
- 32 Christophe, op. cit., 79.
- 33 Wreszinski, loc. cit..
- 34 PM, II, 24-25. For similar colonnades elsewhere at Karnak see; Ibid., II, 5 (temple of Montu); Ibid., 227 (temple of Khonsu).
- 35 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, op. cit., III, pl.64. This group was read as w3dyt by Badawy (ZÄS 102 (1975), 85).
- 36 For a plan of the porch see; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, op. cit., I, pl.XXXIII and for photographs of the columns see; Ibid., I, pls.IV,VIII.
- 37 Roeder, loc. cit..
- 38 E. g. LD, III, 285a; De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36 No.71 (January 1961), 87; Ibid., No.72 (July 1961), 285.

w3dyt

Dyn. XVIII, XXII ¹ 𓂏𓂏𓂏 Ptol. ⁴ 𓂏𓂏	Dyn. XVIII, Ptol. ² 𓂏𓂏𓂏	Dyn. XXII ³ 𓂏𓂏
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Like many other names for architectural features in Egyptian temples w3dyt has not been found prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the case of most words this is due to an accident of survival, but this may not be true of w3dyt. As the Wörterbuch noted⁵ w3dyt described, primarily, a columned hall with w3d columns. Since w3d designated particularly the single-stem papyriform column which did not occur often before the New Kingdom (see above p. 57) it would not be reasonable to expect w3dyt to be found in texts of earlier date. It was only in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties that the hall with w3d columns became popular.

In particular w3dyt seems to have been used of one hall; that situated between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Although the plan of this hall was changed extensively between the reigns of Tuthmosis I and Amenhotep II, it always contained w3d columns. In the original hall, as erected by Tuthmosis I, there were four or five columns to which Tuthmosis III added a further nine or ten to make their number up to fourteen.⁶ The earliest text to call this hall a w3dyt is of the reign of Hatshepsut who, on a block from her sanctuary which was found within the Third Pylon, described the erection of her obelisks "within (m hnt) the noble w3dyt."⁷ At the time when this work was carried out the hall consisted of a single central row of papyriform columns, at least two of which would have had to have been removed to facilitate the erection of the obelisks.

An inscription of Tuthmosis III, also at Karnak, tells how the young prince was standing in the "northern w3dyt"⁸ when he was chosen to be king by Amun, while the god was processing around the w3dyt.⁹ This use, by Tuthmosis III, of the expression "northern w3dyt" to mean the northern half of the hall is paralleled by the use of the phrase "southern w3dyt" in the reign of Amenhotep II. This king decorated the columns in the southern half of the hall and texts still survive on three of these which record that the king had made

"w3d columns for the southern w3dyt." ¹⁰ They were, in fact, erected by Tuthmosis III but this did not deter his successor from claiming that he not only decorated but also built the columns.

On the sanctuary of Hatshepsut the goddess Hathor is described as hntt st m w3dyt ¹¹ which, at Karnak, probably refers to the hall of Tuthmosis I.

After the Eighteenth Dynasty w3dyt has not been found again before the Twenty-second Dynasty. In the reign of Sheshonq I the sandstone quarry at Silsila was re-opened for building work in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Sheshonq planned a bhnt and a wsht-hbyt surrounded by statues and a w3dyt, all of which he described on a stela in the quarry. ¹² Although the king himself died soon after the stela, erected in his last known regnal year, was inscribed, the original plan seems to have been followed and the existing forecourt with its colonnades corresponds to the wsht-hbyt with a w3dyt. These colonnades do not have single-stem papyriform columns, like the hall of Tuthmosis I, but consist of stylized papyriform cluster columns which can also be called w3dw (see the entry on w3d p. 58) so that w3dyt is still an accurate name for these colonnades.

Two statues of the same dynasty mention a w3dyt in connection with the god Amun. ¹³ Since both came from the cachette at Karnak it is reasonable to assume that the w3dyt in question was in the Amun temple. Presumably once again the hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons. ¹⁴

In the Ptolemaic period w3dyt was used to describe, among other buildings, ¹⁵ the roof-chapel of the Hathor temple at Dendera. ¹⁶ The word is found neither in demotic nor Coptic,



The original meaning of w3dyt as a hall of w3d columns is not open to doubt despite the small number of examples of the word. It is possible that w3dyt was used only of the hall of Tuthmosis I at Karnak until the Twenty-second Dynasty when it was applied to the colonnades of the forecourt. In Ptolemaic w3dyt seemed to lose its original meaning and was used as a general word for a columned edifice.

1 Urk. IV, 374.11; 158.8; 1328.1-3; Legrain, Statues et statuettes, III, 60, d; Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl. XIII, 48.

2 Urk. IV, 157.13. Mariette, Denderah, II, pl. 20 c.

- 3 Legrain, op. cit., 80, i and pl.XLI.
- 4 Dümichen, Resultate, pl.50, 8.
- 5 Wb., I, 269, 6-9. Faulkner (Con. Dict. 56) translates wḏyt as "hall of columns" without specifying the column type involved.
- 6 For the history and development of this hall see; Borchardt, Baugeschichte, passim especially p.10-14.
- 7 Urk., IV, 374, 11. This text is also published, in fount, by Lacau and Chevrier, La Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, 232, 369.
- 8 Urk., IV, 157, 13.
- 9 Ibid., 158, 8.
- 10 Ibid., 1328, 1-3 (column 2 omits rsyt).
- 11 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 100; 104 note ac. See also Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Rameses' II in Karnak, 77.
- 12 Caminos, loc. cit..
- 13 Legrain, op. cit., III, 60, d; 80, i and pl.XLI.
- 14 Barguet, Temple, 311.
- 15 Bergmann, Buch von Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit, 21.
- 16 Wb., I, 269, 8 citing Dümichen, loc. cit. and Mariette, loc. cit..

Addendum.

Another writing of wḏyt,   , occurs on a wsh-collar amulet from tomb No.2 at Sai in Nubia. The writing is found in the title hry wḏyt of an official named Huy, and is dated to the New Kingdom (Gout-Minault, Hommages à Serge Sauneron, I, 33; Vercoutter, CRIPÉL 3 (1975), 13.)

tendency to translate wb3 as an "open forecourt"³⁹ or "open court"⁴⁰. The Wörterbuch also gave a secondary meaning of "Heiligtum".⁴¹ The accepted translation of "forecourt" has been challenged by Christophe with regard to the use made of wb3 in Papyrus Harris I in which he could justify a translation of "court" for only one example. He suggested that, in this papyrus at least, wb3 should be translated as "sanctuaire, pris dans son sens large de "temple" ou même de "domaine sacré"".⁴² A similar meaning has also been suggested by Otto.⁴³ Since wb3 is derived from the verb wb3 "to open" it ought to have referred to some part of a temple complex which could have been regarded as being "open". However there is no evidence that this was the temple forecourt which was usually an unroofed court, the sides of which were lined with statues and colonnades, situated immediately behind the pylon. I hope to show that wb3 was, in fact, used to describe a much wider area than is generally believed.

Wb3 is usually regarded as having been confined in use to descriptions of temples and, with one exception, this does seem to have been the case. The one exception also happens to be the earliest occurrence of the word and the only writing known to predate the New Kingdom. The Wörterbuch noted that wb3 first appeared in the Eighteenth Dynasty and occurred often in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.⁴⁴ This must now be amended as wb3 was certainly known in the Eleventh Dynasty and was, therefore, probably in use throughout the Middle Kingdom. As with so many words, the absence of examples from any particular period does not necessarily indicate that the term was not being employed. The documentary evidence for wb3 in the New Kingdom and later is provided by the kinds of texts (building inscriptions and temple papyri) which have been rarely found from earlier periods.

The earliest writing of wb3 occurs in a series of inventories which were drawn up for the Theban official Hekanakhte. The majority of these deal with livestock and produce, but account No.6 lists items made of wood, among which are parts of a boat, including a mast which is described as being "m wb3".⁴⁵ The only other location given in the list is for five pieces of willow-wood which are "m pr-h3". James has taken pr-h3 to be the rear part of a house "perhaps even the out-houses"⁴⁶ and compared it with a passage in the Dream Stela of Tanutamun⁴⁷ where pr-h3t (q.v.) refers to the rear part of the temple of Amun at Napata. James also noted that this example of

wb3 "demonstrates that in origin it was used to describe courts other than those of temples." ⁴⁸ There is, indeed, no direct evidence to suggest that these two terms, wb3 and pr-h3, do not refer to parts of the house or estate of Hekanakhte himself. However, in view of the fact that both words are only known elsewhere in temple-contexts, it is possible that Hekanakhte owned wooden items which were being stored in a temple-precinct. This may seem unlikely but there is an interesting parallel in the papyrus B.M. 10383 in which there is recorded a dispute over the ownership of a mast which is described as being in the possession of a private individual "behind the sbtj // // of the hwt." ⁴⁹ In this case t3 hwt certainly refers to the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinat Habu, ⁵⁰ the sbtj of which was the brick enclosure wall. It is, therefore, not impossible that the wb3 of the Hekanakhte inventory was attached to a temple-precinct although wb3 could well have referred, originally, to a part of a private estate since the plan of any Egyptian temple was based on that of a private domestic dwelling. Whether it was in a temple precinct or a private estate, a wb3 in which a mast could be stored can only have been a fairly large open space. ⁵¹

The usual, convenient translation of "forecourt" can not be applied to many of the texts in which wb3 occurs. The number and types of both buildings and activities which are described as being within the temple wb3 can only be accounted for if the word is understood to have referred to the entire temple temenos and, by extension, all land sacred to the god.



This can be seen with regard to the single obelisk of Tuthmosis III from the Eastern Temple at Karnak (the Lateran obelisk). It bears an inscription indicating that it was to be erected m wb3 hry hwt-ntr. ⁵² This obelisk was left unfinished by Tuthmosis III and was finally erected in the reign of Tuthmosis IV r sb3 hry n'Ipt-swt "at the upper sb3 of Ipet-sut". ⁵³ Despite earlier theories to the contrary, ⁵⁴ Nims ⁵⁵ has shown that the obelisk was intended, by Tuthmosis III, to stand in the Eastern Temple, the site being designated by the inscription of this king as the wb3 hry "the upper wb3". One would expect this location to correspond closely to the region of the sb3 hry mentioned in the text of Tuthmosis IV, ⁵⁶ and there is, therefore, no reason to doubt that the obelisk was intended for the site in which it was, belatedly, erected. It is impossible that this area

could have been regarded as the "forecourt" of the temple in the reign of Tuthmosis III and wb3 here must be understood as referring to the temple temenos,⁵⁷ the adjective hry indicating that it was this particular part of the enclosure, at the back of the main temple, which was intended..

Once again there is a break in the known history of this term as no further examples have been found from the Eighteenth Dynasty. This must be due to an accident of survival since the word must have still been in use. However from the reign of Seti I wb3 occurs frequently in all kinds of texts.

In the temple of Luxor Ramesses II described how he made a wb3 provided with two obelisks for his father Amun-Re Atum.⁵⁸ The obelisks stood before the pylon of the temple and were not within the Ramesside forecourt. In this case, therefore, wb3 referred to the area immediately in front of the temple pylon which may have been enclosed by a Ramesside wall which has since been completely destroyed. There are remains at Luxor of a Thirtieth Dynasty wall⁵⁹ which could have been built over an earlier one. However the temple of Luxor was a subsidiary of the main Amun temple at Karnak and consequently the land on which the temple was built and the processional way between the two building complexes would have been regarded as belonging to Amun and could be described as the wb3 of the god if the term was applied in its broadest sense.

This must be the case with the temple of Seti I at Gurna which is described as being situated m wb3 nt 'Ipt-swt.⁶⁰ This particular example also shows the impossibility of translating wb3 as "forecourt".

One curious use of wb3 is found in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak where the hall is named, on an architrave inscription, as hwt-ntr 3h (Sti mr-n-'Imn) m pr-'Imn m hft-hr n 'Ipt-swt wb3 špss m w3dw wrw phr.ti m  "The hwt-ntr (called) "Glorious is Seti Merenamun" in the pr of Amun, in front of Ipet-sut, a noble wb3 with great w3d-columns and .⁶¹ In this text wb3 can only be in apposition to hwt-ntr and is therefore being used of the Hypostyle Hall itself. Christophe translated wb3 in this text as "sanctuaire"⁶² but in another damaged text from the same hall he preferred to translate wb3 as "avant-cour",⁶³ assuming that in this example⁶⁴ the text was

referring to the unfinished hall before the smaller columns were erected. This is an unnecessary assumption if wb3 is properly understood. In this case the hall was built on land immediately in front of the main entrance to the existing temple, the same area as was called "the wb3" at Luxor. As Christophe has pointed out, Seti I regarded his hall as being "in front of Ipet-sut."⁶⁵ If the hall was built in the wb3 of the temple it is easy to see that the name of the original clear area before the entrance could have been transferred to the hall itself. Alternatively the use of this term to describe a hypostyle hall may be an example of hyperbole, since the same hall was also called a hwt-ntr.⁶⁶ One further text also uses wb3 for the Hypostyle Hall; wb3 špss m mnw nfrw wrw w3dw [///] "a noble wb3 with great and beautiful monuments, w3d-columns [///]".⁶⁷

Obviously the meaning of wb3 in any text can only be confirmed if the example can be related to a surviving monument. This is particularly true of the temple complex at Karnak.

In the reign of Ramesses II the Eastern Temple was redesigned and extended. The work is described on the back pillar of a statue of Bakenkhons, detailing the building itself, the obelisk, doors (tryw, q.v.) and finally the flagstaffs which were erected m wb3 špss m-hft-hr n hwt-ntr.f "in the noble wb3 in front of his hwt-ntr".⁶⁸ Once again, as at Luxor, the wb3 is the area before the entrance to the temple. Nims has suggested that this temple was "an edifice built by the state for the use of the people of Thebes."⁶⁹ The fact that the ordinary people could come to the wb3 of Amun to petition the god is shown in a series of Twentieth Dynasty letters, instructing the family of a sick man to pray for him in the wb3 of Amun.⁷⁰ When the⁷¹ man recovers he is supposed to go to the wb3 to thank the god himself. Since wb3 could include all the land within the enclosure wall, there was no need for the general public to enter the main temple to petition the god. Shrines and statues could be set up "in the wb3" to which petitions and offerings could be brought. This is undoubtedly the origin of the god "Amenhotep of the wb3", a form of the deified Pharaoh Amenhotep I.⁷² Presumably there was once a statue of the king somewhere "in the wb3" of Amun to which popular representations were made. Eventually the cult required a shrine of its own and a pr of the deified king was established on the West Bank at Thebes.⁷³

and provided with a priesthood.⁷⁴ The original site of the statue could have been anywhere in the area of Karnak or even, since the temple of Seti I at Gurna was regarded as being in the wb3, on the West Bank at Thebes, on land sacred to Amun.

Wb3 occurs frequently in Papyrus Harris I. The temple of Ramesses III at Karnak is described as hft-hr n wb3.k⁷⁵ and the king also notes the providing, for the wb3 of Amun, of a jar-stand,⁷⁶ plunder from foreign campaigns,⁷⁷ sycamore-trees⁷⁸ and a black granite shrine.⁷⁹ At Heliopolis the king carried out works in the wb3 of Atum⁸⁰ including instituting offerings⁸¹ building a storehouse for offerings⁸² and providing men to police and sanctify the wb3.⁸³ At Memphis Ramesses built a hwt in the wb3 of Ptah⁸⁴ as well as a similar building in the wb3 of Thmth at Hermopolis.⁸⁵ Finally the king describes what he did for the gods and goddesses of the South and North "I made hwt (pl.) and r-pr (pl.) in (hr) their wb3(w)."⁸⁶

Wb3 was a very common term in the Nineteenth Dynasty and later periods. Further buildings which were erected in a wb3 of a god include the Amun temple of Seti II at Hermopolis⁸⁷ and a temple of Merenptah at Memphis.⁸⁸ The wb3 formed a part of the temple complex of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu⁸⁹ and at Heracleopolis a hntt was erected in the wb3 of Horshef.⁹⁰ Other works carried out in wb3w include the erection of an obelisk at Heliopolis,⁹¹ columns at Thebes,⁹² a great offering table of silver and gold at Karnak,⁹³ statues of copper⁹⁴ and wood⁹⁵ at Thebes and a h3yt in the enclosure at Dendera in the Ptolemaic Period.⁹⁶

Various officials of the wb3 are known including a w'b priest⁹⁷ and several scribes.⁹⁸ In the Twentieth Dynasty the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, was introduced in to the great wb3 of Amun⁹⁹ when he was installed in his office, and he was praised and glorified in the great wb3 of Amun-Re.¹⁰⁰

Wb3 occurs in the demotic script¹⁰¹ but was not retained into Coptic, presumably because the word was so closely connected with pagan temples which were no longer being built or operated.

The shortage of evidence from the period prior to the Eleventh Dynasty makes it impossible to trace the origins of wb3. It may have been first used in relation to domestic architecture if the writing in the Hekanakhte account refers to his own home, but this is by no means certain. In any case, the plan of an Egyptian temple was derived

from the basic house-plan since the temple was the home of the god, so it is possible that wb3 was used to describe the area bounded by enclosure walls of both religious and private estates. However, by the Nineteenth Dynasty, and probably even by the Eighteenth, the term had become firmly affixed to temple architecture alone and it did not recur in a secular context.

From the New Kingdom onward wb3 seems to refer to all that land sacred to the god outside of the actual temple building itself. Thus it could be used of the area within the enclosure wall, the temple temenos, and this can be seen particularly in Papyrus Harbisi I where the building and offering activities which take place m wb3 or hr wb3 can all be best understood as having occurred within the temple enclosure. Other building texts also clearly use wb3 to mean the temple temenos.

There are other cases, however, where a translation of "temenos" is inadequate. In several texts wb3 is used specifically of the area immediately "in front of" or "outside" a main temple entrance and in the case of the temple of Seti I at Gurna wb3 was extended in meaning to include land on the West Bank which belonged to Amun.

There is no one word which can be used to translate wb3 correctly on all occasions and each occurrence will have to be assessed on the context. The one translation which is inaccurate on most occasions is the generally accepted "forecourt" and, for the majority of texts "temenos" would be a suitable rendering.


Since wb3 could be extended in meaning to include all land sacred to a god, it is important not to confuse its meaning with that of the term pr (q.v.) which, in the context of an Egyptian temple, could also designate all the land belonging to a particular god. Pr, however, has an administrative connotation which is entirely lacking in wb3. The pr of a god could include land which was administered for the temple but was situated far away from the main cult-centre. When a temple on the West Bank at Thebes was described as being m pr'Imn, this implied that it was under the administrative control of the temple of Amun while the expression m wb3 simply indicated the physical situation of the temple.

In actual fact, any temple which was erected on the wb3 of Amun would have been under the administrative control of the main Amun temple at Karnak, and could, therefore, have been described also as

m pr 'Imn. This can be seen in the case of the temple of Seti I at Gurna.¹⁰²

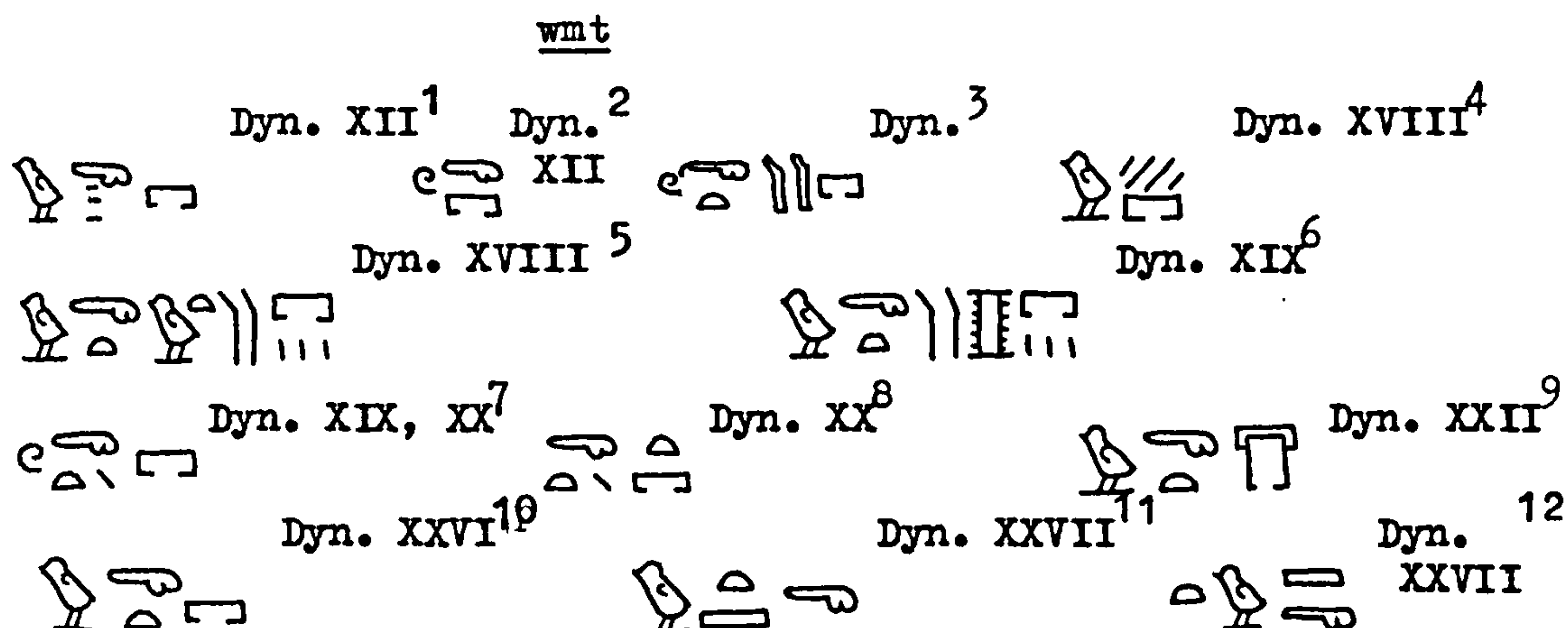
The main distinction between the two terms is that m wb3 described the location of the temple while m pr indicated that a temple was economically subordinate to the main cult-centre of the god in question.

- 1 James, The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents, pl.12, V, 3; KRI, I, 216, 5.
- 2 Urk., IV, 584, 10.
- 3 KRI, I, 201, 5; 201, 15; 205, 4.
- 4 Ibid., I, 118, 11.
- 5 Plantikow-Münster, ZÄS 95 (1969), 119, Abb.1, b, 6.
- 6 KRI, II, 278, 11.
- 7 Ibid., II, 278, 13; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 3, 11; 6, 14-15; 34, 4; 54, 12; et al..
- 8 KRI, II, 37, 11-15.
- 9 Baud and Drioton, Le Tombeau de Panehsy, 25, fig.12.
- 10 Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 147, 4.
- 11 Roeder, ASAE 52 (1954), 345; pls.V; VI.
- 12 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 10, 9; Černy, Late Ramesside Letters, 31, 11.
- 13 Berlin Königlichen Museen, Aegyptische Inschriften, 158, 7.
- 14 Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.102, 2.
- 15 Virey, Rec. de Trav. 8 (1886), 170 and unnumbered plate.
- 16 Černy and Gardiner, op. cit., pl.89, recto, 9.
- 17 KRI, V, 250, 2.
- 18 Ibid., V, 237, 7.
- 19 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, I, pls.22, A, 18; 23, A, 18.
- 20 Id., Medinet Habu, III, pls.182, 2; 184, 5 (this last without ☐).
- 21 Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.XIX, 6, recto, 4.
- 22 Ibid., pl.I, 2, 8.
- 23 LMT, III, 101; 218, b (with ☐ instead of ☐); Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les grands Prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep, 63, Insc.XV, b, 3 and 6; Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, III, 80, j.
- 24 Černy, op. cit., 72, 7.

- 25 Černy, JEA 31 (1945), 46 (wb3 is written like this in lines 2, 6 and 9 of the stela (BM 278). In line 5 an 3 is added.)
- 26 Černy, Late Ramesside Letters, 2, 10.
- 27 Hamada, ASAE 47. (1947), 18, (6).
- 28 Badawi, ASAE 44 (1944), 204.
- 29 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), pl.II, 2; III, 2 (Vercoutter would prefer to date this to the Thirtieth Dynasty. See wh3, note 59).
- 30 Ibid., pl.V, 3; Chassinat, Rec. de Trav. 23 (1901), 79.
- 31 Koefoed Petersen, Les Stèles Egyptiennes, pl.65.
- 32 Daumas, BIFAO 50 (1952), 149.
- 33 Sauneron, Esna, III, 10, 197, 14.
- 34 Id., Mélanges Mariette, 245.
- 35 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, U.26 (also U.27, an Old Kingdom variant).
- 36 Ibid., Sign List, U.24.
- 37 Gardiner, JEA 15 (1929), 52.
- 38 Wb., I, 290, 1-23; 291, 1-7. See also, now, Ward, The Four Egyptian
- 39 Wb., I, 291, 10-13. | Homographic Roots b3, 60-61, § 113-115.
- 40 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 58.
- 41 Wb., I, 291, 14. (The Wörterbuch also lists a word wb3j.(t)  which is feminine, occurs in Late Egyptian only and for which the Wb. gives the translation "Vorhof des Tempels" (Wb., I, 291, 15). The writing comes from BM Ostracan 5656a which is a New Kingdom hymn to Amun-Re (Birch, Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Character from the Collection of the British Museum, pl.26, 5656a, verso, 9). However the hieratic forms of the first three signs bear no resemblance to their equivalents as given by Möller (Hieratische Paläographie, II, 487 (wb3, neither does the sign resemble bmt, 486); 124 (b); 208 (b3)). In view of this it is probably not to be taken as a feminine writing of wb3.)
- 42 Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 24.
- 43 Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gases, 47-48.
- 44 Wb., I, 291. (The belief that wb3 was unknown before the New Kingdom led Roeder (ASAE 52 (1954), 348, (a)) to assume that it must have referred to a part of the temple which did not exist in earlier examples.)
- 45 James, op. cit., pl.12, V, verso, 3 (for the transcription see pl. 12A.)

- 46 Ibid., 61, note 27.
- 47 Urk., III, 68, 13.
- 48 James, op. cit., 61-62, note 28.
- 49 Peet, op. cit., II, pl.XXII, 3, 7 (for a translation of the whole passage see Ibid., I, 125).
- 50 Černy, JEA 26 (1940), 127-130.
- 51 Compare the court of an Amarna house (Lloyd, JEA 19 (1933), 1-7).
- 52 Urk., IV, 584, 10.
- 53 Ibid., 1550, 18.
- 54 PM, II, 213.
- 55 Nims, Beiträge Bf.12, Festschrift Ricke, 109 and note 15.
- 56 The Eastern gate of the temple of Amun is again called "sb3 ḥry" in the reign of Ramesses II (Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., Abb.1, b, 5.
- 57 The brick enclosure wall of the Amun temple in the Eighteenth Dynasty seems to have been a buttressed wall, portions of which have been found on the eastern side of the temple (Barguet, Temple, 34; Plan I). Barguet's plan shows the wall bending in the area of the Eastern temple so that one can not be certain as to its exact position with regard to the obelisk.
- 58 Abd El-Razik, op. cit., 147, 4.
- 59 PM, II, pl.XXIX.
- 60 KRI, I, 216, 5 (see also; Christophe, BIFAO 60 (1960), 78-79.)
- 61 KRI, I, 201, 4-5 (Christophe, op. cit., 73)
- 62 Ibid., 74; 78.
- 63 Ibid., 78.
- 64 Loc. cit. (KRI, I, 205, 4).
- 65 Christophe, op. cit., 78.
- 66 KRI, I, 201, 4; 201, 9; 201, 15; 202, 8; 203, 7; 203, 13; 203, 16; et al.
- 67 Ibid., I, 201, 15.
- 68 Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., 119, Abb.1, b, 6.
- 69 Nims, op. cit., 111.
- 70 Černy, Late Ramesside Letters, 2, 10; 31, 11.
- 71 Ibid., 72, 7.
- 72 Schmitz, Amenophis I, 117-118; Černy, BIFAO 27 (1927), 162-164.
- 73 Peet, op. cit., II, pl.1, Abbott, 2, 8.

- 74 Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten, III, 136, No.884; Legrain, op. cit., III, 80; Baud and Drioton, loc. cit..
- 75 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5, 17.
- 76 Ibid., 6, 14-15.
- 77 Ibid., 8, 7.
- 78 Ibid., 9, 1.
- 79 Ibid., 6, 11.
- 80 Ibid., 30, 10.
- 81 Ibid., 34, 4.
- 82 Ibid., 31, 11.
- 83 Ibid., 33, 5.
- 84 Ibid., 50, 8
- 85 Ibid., 67, 4.
- 86 Ibid., 70, 10.
- 87 Roeder, op. cit., 345; 346; pls. V; VI.
- 88 KRI, V, 250, 2.
- 89 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit., V, pl.355, B.
- 90 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88; pls.II, 2; III, 2 (Louvre A.88); 103; pl.V, 3 (unmmbered statue in Alexandria).
- 91 KRI, I, 1118, 111.
- 92 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Rameses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amun, pls.22, A, 18; 23, A, 18.
- 93 KRI, V, 231, 7.
- 94 Peet, op. cit., II, pl.VII, 3, 17.
- 95 Ibid., II, pl.XXI, 4, verso, 20.
- 96 Daumas, BIFAO 50, (1952), 149.
- 97 Koefoed Petersen, loc. cit..
- 98 Wreszinski, Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien, 90; Chassinat, Rec. de Trav. 23 (1901), 79; Parker, A Saite Oracular Papyrus from Thebes, 33; pl.12, K.7 and K.12.
- 99 Lefebvre, op. cit., 63, Insc.XV, b, 3; pl.II.
- 100 Ibid., 63, Insc.XV, b, 6; pl.II.
- 101 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 85.
- 102 KRI, I, 215, 15; 216, 10; et al..



The Wörterbuch translates wmt as "the thickness of a door" and also "doorway, portico"¹³ and notes that, in Late Egyptian, the noun was treated as a feminine word. A similar translation (gateway) is given by Faulkner.¹⁴ Gardiner, while suggesting a translation of "gateway," noted that the real meaning was "rather the inner part of the gate, the gateway rather than the entire structure,"¹⁵ and Christophe, discussing the occurrences of wmt in Papyrus Harris I, takes wmt to be the entire length of the passage in the thickness of the wall between the exterior and interior faces of the door.¹⁶ Hayes has noted that the gender of wmt seemed to change from masculine to feminine by confusion of the final consonant t with the feminine termination.¹⁷

This change in gender was also remarked upon¹⁸ by Caminos in his commentary on the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon where he takes t3 wmt ss to have been the name of a department, office or institution named after its main architectural feature, an alabaster gateway.

Wmt seems originally to have been a masculine word, the final t of which came to be mistaken for the feminine ending. With the exception of Ostrakon Petrie 59, the writings in Sinuhe show no final t. Barns thought he could make it out in the Ashmolean Ostrakon,¹⁹ One of the writings in this text is in the phrase wmt nt d'm,²⁰ showing that, even at this early date, the masculine noun was mistaken for a feminine one. Chronologically, the next writing of wmt is on a hieratic ostrakon from the tomb of Senmut at Thebes. This also does not show the terminal t and the noun is preceded by the masculine article pa.²¹ Most examples of the term, however, have no indication of gender, although in Papyrus Harris I wmt is once treated as masculine²² while

in B.M. Papyrus 10053²³ and in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon²⁴ the feminine article t3 is used before wmt. Inscriptions of Darius at the temple of Hibis also treat the term as feminine.²⁵

Etymologically wmt is derived from wmt "to be thick"²⁶ and it is often difficult to distinguish wmt, the building element, from wmt "thickness",²⁷ since the two words are used, and can be spelled, so similarly.

As was noted above, the earliest writings of wmt are in the story of Sinuhe, the earliest extant version of which dates to the Middle Kingdom, with copies of the text surviving from later periods.

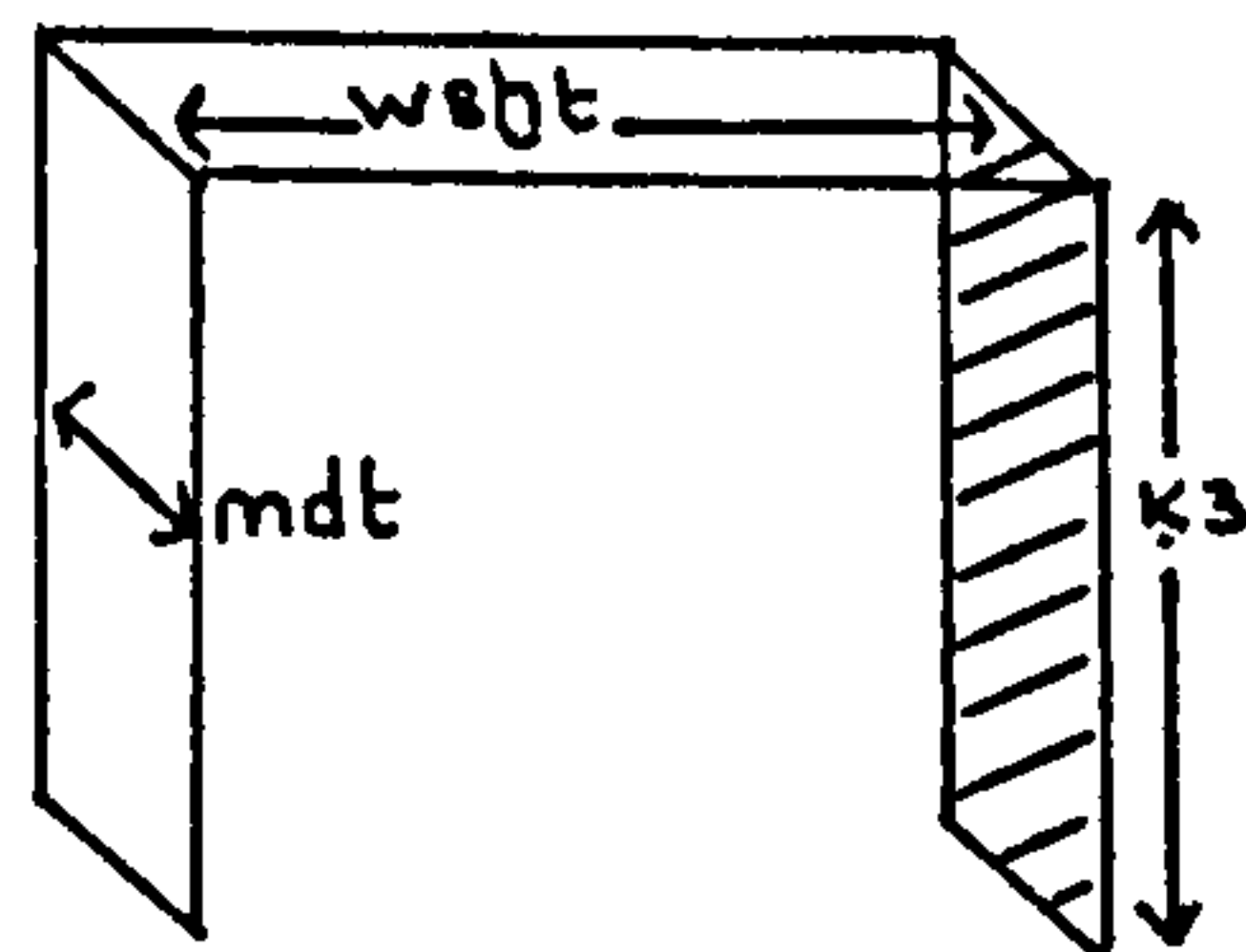
When Sinuhe returns to Egypt he goes to the palace and prostrates himself between the guarding sphinxes while the royal children stand in the wm<t>w to greet him.²⁸ Presumably they would be standing in the passage formed by the thickness of the monumental gateway at the entrance to the palace. This is a clear indication that the original meaning of wmt was the "thickness" of a gate- or doorway. In the case of small doors this would entail merely the width of the door-jamb, the reveal, but in the monumental doorways which were constructed in Egyptian temples and palaces the wmt would be the passage through the thickness of the wall or pylon into which the door was set.

The other example of wmt in the story of Sinuhe is less straightforward and both Sethe and Gardiner viewed this writing of wmt as an error, copied from the previous example.²⁹ The occurrence is in the same passage as the former writing. When Sinuhe goes into the palace he finds the king seated on his throne. The most complete text has; gm.n.i hm.f hr st wrt m wmt<t>nt d'm.³⁰ Gardiner suggested that the text should be amended to read st wrt nt d'm since it would not be natural for the king to sit, on his throne,, in a doorway. In support of the suggestion he cited a further example of st wrt nt d'm.³¹ This view has since been challenged by both Rosenvasser³² and Barns³³ who prefer to retain st wrt m wmt nt d'm as this is now supported by the publications of new versions of the text. In particular, a fragment of papyrus in Buenos Aires, containing parts of lines B.251-256, although damaged, clearly reads; st wrt m w[mt/nt d'm], the determinatives of d'm,³⁴ being still preserved.³⁴ This papyrus has been assigned a date similar to that of the Berlin version and is, therefore, not far removed in time from the date of the original

composition. This reading is also supported by two New Kingdom ostraca. The Ashmolean Ostrakon has hꜣ st wrt m wm [x////] d'm³⁵ and, although Barns could not reconcile the traces between wm [t] and d'm with a reading of nt³⁶ the sense of the text can not be doubted. Ostrakon Petrie 59 shows //] m wmt nt d'm.³⁷

Camino has suggested that wmt, in this context, should be understood as referring to a recess in which the throne was situated.³⁸ This would agree well with the etymological origin of the term since the throne would be set in the "thickness" of the recess. It is almost certain, therefore that the text of Sinuhe does not need to be amended at this point.

An interesting indication of the meaning of wmt is given on an ostrakon from the tomb of Senmut at Thebes, describing work on the tomb itself.³⁹ According to Hayes⁴⁰ the wmt to which reference is twice made could only be the "inner doorway" of the tomb, as the proportions of this door approximate closely to those given on the ostrakon. Since three dimensions are quoted for the wmt, the entire inner surface of the doorway must have been intended. It is interesting to note that, in this case, mdt "depth" is used for the actual thickness of the jamb, the measurement which originally gave the name wmt to the reveal.



The reveal of the doorway is called wmt on the verso of the Turin papyrus, the recto of which describes the tomb of Ramesses IV.⁴¹ The identity of the royal tomb described on the verso has not yet been established but the measurements given for the doorways leave no doubt that the "thickness" of the door, the reveal, is the meaning of wmt. In his translation,⁴² Gardiner regards wmt in this text as the abstract noun "breadth", indicating the difficulty of deciding on the best translation. Both terms have, essentially, the same meaning, so that the question of which of the two was actually intended is, to a certain extent, irrelevant since, in this case, neither the spelling of the word nor the context in which it is found can distinguish between the two.

A text of the reign of Ramesses II illustrates the true meaning of wmt. A woman, concerning whom prognostications are to be made, is told to stand m wmt nt sb3.⁴³ In Papyrus Harris I the wmt is also obviously a part of the door-frame.⁴⁴

Although wmt originally and continuously referred to the reveal of a door, which in monumental architecture became a "passage", the term does seem to have acquired a wider meaning and it came to be used for the entire frame of the doorway. An early example of this may occur in a damaged text of the reign of Amenhotep III, describing the king's hwt nt hhw m rnpwt at Memphis which contained wsjw⁴⁵ wmtw m [////].⁴⁵ The fact that the wmtw were listed with the wsjw⁴⁵ would suggest that entire doorways were intended rather than reveals. This would also seem to be so in the papyrus B.M. 10053 where mention is made twice of the sb3 hry n t3 wmt n lnr sbw⁴⁶ from which $4\frac{1}{2}$ deben of copper was removed. Sb3 here is used to refer to the door-leaf, a meaning which the term had acquired by the Twentieth Dynasty, with wmt used to describe the door frame.


Similarly the wmt of alabaster mentioned on the Bubastite gate at Karnak⁴⁷ and the granite wmt of the temple of Horshef at Heracleopolis⁴⁸ would have been doorways, not just reveals.

Finally the gate of the pylon of Darius at the temple of Hibis is called a wmt and is described as being made of [sand]stone with sb3w of copper.⁴⁹ The text is inscribed on the front and back reveals of the gate so that, although wmt must mean the entire gateway the texts themselves are on the true wmtw⁵⁰; the reveals.


From its apparent origin in the Middle Kingdom wmt was used of the reveal of a door down to the Twentieth Dynasty at least. However, during the New Kingdom the meaning was extended to include the entire door frame. This was probably underway in the Eighteenth Dynasty and was certainly so in the Twentieth and later Dynasties.

1 Sinuhe, B.250; B.252. 2 Sinuhe, Ostrakon Petrie, 59, 1

3 Hayes, Ostraca and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mut (No.71) at Thebes, pl.XV, No.75.

4 Urk., IV, 1712, 1. This damaged writing is restored by Helck (Urkunden der 18 Dynastie Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22, 224) as  which he translates as "Türlaibungen".

5 Urk., IV, 1795, 13.

6 KRI, I, 47, 12. The determinatives include , probably borrowed from wmt "wall" (see p.82). The fact that these wmtw are of granite would indicate reveals rather than walls. This also applies to another writing which could be taken to be either word. See further

under wmt p.82.

- 7 Wreszinski, Der Grosse Medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums (3038), 47, 4; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 67, 1; Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.XX, B.M. 10053, 2, verso, 15.
- 8 Carter and Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 147; 148.
- 9 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 16, 47.
- 10 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88, 13.
- 11 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, The Temple of Hibis in El-Khargeh Oasis, III, pl.58.
- 12 Loc. cit..
- 13 Wb., I, 307, 1-2.
- 14 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 60.
- 15 Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, 95-96.
- 16 Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 23.
- 17 Hayes, op. cit., 32.
- 18 Caminos, The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 64-65.
- 19 Barns, The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe, verso, 44-45.
- 20 Sinuhe, B.250. and parallel texts.
- 21 Hayes, op. cit., pl.XV, No.75.
- 22 Erichsen, op. cit., 50, 11.
- 23 Peet, loc. cit..
- 24 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit..
- 25 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, loc. cit..
- 26 Wb., I, 306, 9-14.
- 27 Ibid., I, 306, 15.
- 28 Sinuhe, B.250.
- 29 Gardiner, op. cit., 96.
- 30 Sinuhe, B.252.
- 31 Urk., IV, 349, 11.
- 32 Rosenvasser, JEA 20 (1934), 48,
- 33 Barns, op. cit., 28.
- 34 Rosenvasser, op. cit., 47, fig. 1, 3; pl.IX, 1.
- 35 Barns, op. cit., verso, 44-45.
- 36 Ibid., 28.
- 37 Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, 36, 15.
- 38 Barns, loc. cit..

39 Hayes, loc. cit..

40 Ibid., 32.

41 Carter and Gardiner, loc. cit.,

42 Loc. cit..

43 Wreszinski, loc. cit..

44 Erichsen, op. cit., 50, 11; 67, 1.

45 Urk., IV, 1795, 13.

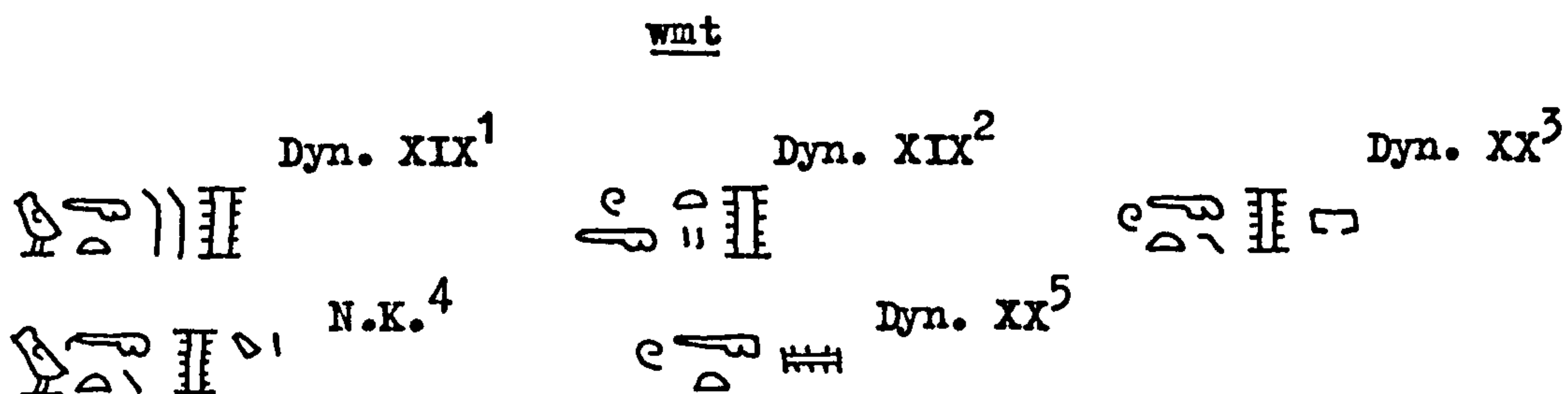
46 Peet, op. cit., pl.XX, B.M. 10053, 2, verso, 15; (omitting hry) 3, verso, 3.

47 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit..

48 Vercoutter, loc. cit..

49 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, loc. cit..

50 Ibid., III, pls.1; 58-59.



The use of III as the determinative of wmt is a certain indication that the term refers to some kind of wall. Unfortunately none of the occurrences is in a useful context. One is a component of a private name, while two others are descriptive epithets of the king.⁷ The two remaining examples are from texts which refer to actual buildings. One is on an ostrakon and mentions work on "the wmt of 'The Tomb'",⁸ and the other is in a text describing work on an 't w'bt at Karnak in the reign of Ramesses IX.⁹

Obviously a wmt will have been a "thick wall" and the term may have had no more specific meaning than this. It probably evolved from the adjectival adjunct n wmtt in sbtj n wmtt¹⁰ and inb(n) wmtt¹¹ in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

1 KRI., I, 7, 11.

2 L.D., III, 166.

3 In a man's name p3 n t3wmt, Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 67, 1; Ranke, Personennamen, I, 111, 16.

4 Spiegelberg, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 5/ (1902), 325.

5 Mariette, Karnak, pl.40, 4.

6 Ranke, loc. cit..

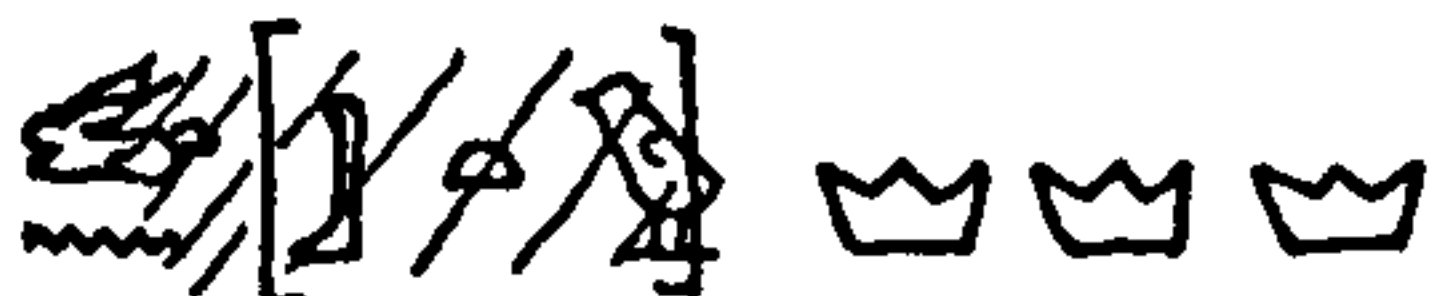
7 KRI., I, 7, 11; L.D., III, 166.

8 Spiegelberg, loc. cit..

9 Mariette, loc. cit..


10 See below, p.239.

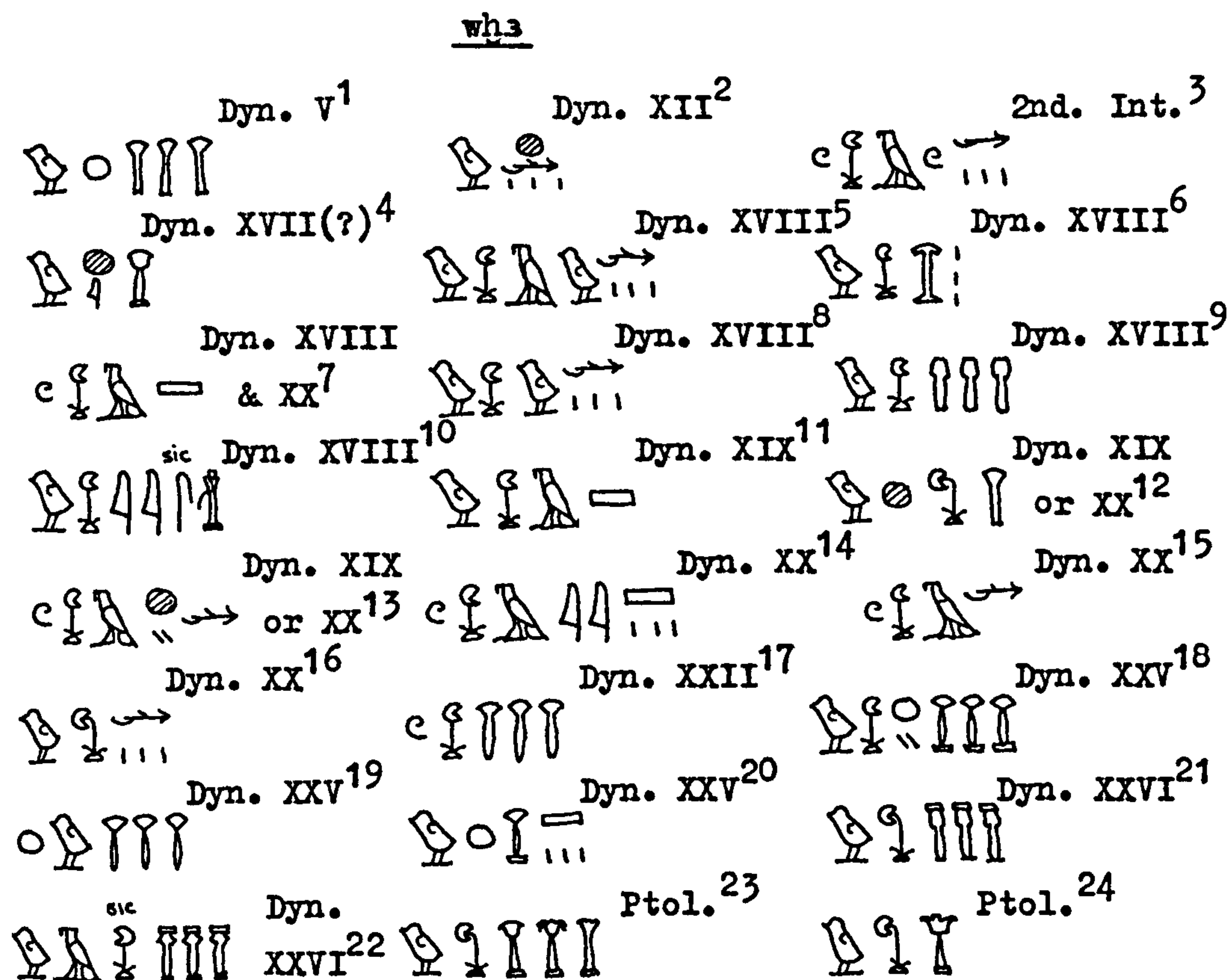
11 See above, p.25-26.

wnbwtDyn. XVIII ¹

Wnbwt occurs only in an inscription of the reign of Tuthmosis III at Karnak and is not given in either the Wörterbuch or Faulkner's dictionary. As can be seen from the writing above, the word has to be partially restored, although the determinatives are well preserved. Unfortunately the text immediately preceding the description of the wnbwt is completely lost and the inscription, as it now stands, reads; wn[bwt] ỉryw m nbwy ² "their wn[bwt] in gold." Lacau, ³ in his discussion of the text, suggested that the wnbwt were the bases of columns, showing, in the determinatives, the leaf-design which was characteristic of the papyriform columns. ⁴ Lacau linked the word with wnb "part of the eye" ⁵ and wab "root" or "root of a tooth or eye" ⁶ and suggested that the columns under discussion were those immediately behind the Sixth Pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak. These are sandstone papyriform cluster columns. ⁷ One would then have to assume that the preceding text, now lost, described the columns themselves.

In spite of the fact that the writing has to be largely restored the distinctive form of the determinatives would suggest that it is the base of the column shaft that was intended. This part of the column was often gilded originally ⁸ and so would comply with the description of the wnbwt as given in the text.

- 1 Lacau, ASAE 53 (1956), 228. Lacau reads the group  as s3wy but Harris has pointed out that there is no reason not to read the group as nbwy (Minerals, 39). This text is also published in Urk., IV, 168.9 where the word has been restored differently.
- 2 Lacau, loc. cit..
- 3 Lacau, op. cit., 227-9.
- 4 e.g. Borchardt, Die Aegyptische Pflanzensäule, 32 (papyriform-cluster column); 41 (single-stem papyriform column).
- 5 Wb., I, 319, 2.
- 6 Wb., I, 250, 9-11.
- 7 Lacau, op. cit., pl.II.
- 8 ibid., 221-234.



The first point to note regarding wh₃ is that the word has a much longer history than was recognised when the Wörterbuch was compiled. The earliest example known at that time was from the Middle Kingdom²⁵ but a text of the Fifth Dynasty has since been published, containing the word wh₃. This is a block from the causeway of the pyramid of Unas at Saqqara showing palm-columns being transported by barge for the construction of the pyramid complex. The inscription describes them as, "wh₃w of granite"²⁶ and the columns of the pyramid-temples were, in fact, granite palm-columns.²⁷ Unfortunately no further examples of the word from the Old Kingdom have yet come to light.

In the Fifth Dynasty writing the word is spelt wh, without the 3. This is also true of the one known Middle Kingdom writing while one of the Seventeenth Dynasty is spelt wh_i. In spite of these indications that the word may have originally been wh or wh_i, it is probably preferable to read the word as wh₃ since, from the Second Intermediate Period onward, this is the usual spelling. With only two exceptions, both of the reign of Taharqa from Kawa in Nubia, wh₃ was consistently written with the biliteral wh₃.²⁸

The Wörterbuch translated wh₃ as a "column, pillar (of wood or of stone), also tent-pole."²⁹ and added that it could be used figuratively in the phrase "column of heaven" to describe the King or a god.³⁰ Faulkner noted that it could mean "column" or "tent-pole".³¹ Apart from having been used in building contexts, wh₃ was used to describe not only tent-poles³² but also a part of a ship,³³ presumably a pole or a mast.

As can be seen from the writings given above, it would be impossible to decide to which column-type, if any, wh₃ originally referred, on the basis of these writings alone. Virtually all types were used, at one time or another, as determinatives of the word. The evidence from actual buildings is also inconclusive as most wh₃w can not be identified, while those that can are not all the same column-type.

The earliest reference, as detailed above, describes the palm-columns of the Unas pyramid complex. Wh₃ was also used as a term for a palm-column on a Ramesside stela which shows a man offering to the god Ptah who is described as hry p₃ wh₃ and behind whom stands a quite distinct palm-column.³⁴ A palm-column is also used as the determinative of wh₃ on the pedestal inscription of Amenhotep III in the temple of Luxor.³⁵ In this case wh₃ was used as a general term for the temple columns which were described, more specifically, as nḥbwt (q.v.). Wh₃w was the name given to the columns of the temple (T) of Taharqa at Kawa³⁶ where the majority of the columns were palm-form although there were some papyriform columns as well.³⁷

It would seem then to be at least possible that an wh₃-column was, originally, a palm-column. There does not, however, appear to be any etymological evidence to support such a theory. In the Graeco-Roman period the word for a palm-column was bnrt³⁸ which was a logical term for a palm-column, originating in bnrt "date-palm".³⁹ It is, therefore, possible that all palm-columns, even in dynastic Egypt, were called by this name, despite the fact that no such writings have survived.

Other wh₃w can be identified with existing columns of different forms. In the temple of Ptah at Karnak Tuthmosis III describes how he found the temple built of brick with wh₃w and sb₃w of wood⁴⁰ and he rebuilt the temple in stone. The wh₃w are not mentioned again so that one cannot be certain that this term was also applied to the only

remaining Tuthmosid columns in the temple. These are polygonal.⁴¹ However one can be certain that wh₃w in a dedication inscription of Amenhotep III in the temple of Montu at Karnak⁴² does refer to the papyriform-cluster columns of the temple,⁴³ particularly as, for once, the determinatives given to the word corresponds to the actual column-type.

As mentioned above, wh₃w in the Luxor inscription of Amenhotep III seems to be a general term for all the columns of the temple, where those erected by this king were either papyriform-clusters or single-stem papyriform columns.⁴⁴

Wh₃ was often linked, in texts, with elements which went to make up doorways, such as; sb₃w,⁴⁵ sb₃wt,⁴⁶ '₃w,⁴⁷ and htrw.⁴⁸ In the case of the work carried out at Karnak in the Twentieth Dynasty by the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, Sauneron suggested that the wh₃w were "les supports d'un toit précédant la porte".⁴⁹ In view of the strong connections between the wh₃w and doorways this was probably also the case in many of the texts where it is not possible to identify the wh₃w with existing remains.

Wh₃-columns could have been made of wood⁵⁰ or stone⁵¹ and, in one case, a man was likened to a wh₃ of reeds under which was a spt (q.v.) of copper.⁵² Of the types of building in which wh₃w were erected, temples and their associated buildings occur most frequently, although wh₃w were also set up in a palace,⁵³ a tomb⁵⁴ and an unspecified secular building.⁵⁵


In the Ptolemaic period wh₃w, as was also the case with other column-terms, was used in a general way for all kinds of column, with detailed determinatives added to indicate the column-type involved.⁵⁶ The word occurs, at Philae, in a demotic inscription on one of the columns of the Western colonnade.⁵⁷ This column, now in Berlin, is, in fact, a palm-column⁵⁸ and there is no reason to doubt that the inscription, carved by the stone-mason in a formal demotic script, refers to this palm-column.

It is tempting to suggest, in view of this last example and also the earlier evidence, that a wh₃ was, originally, a palm-column.⁵⁹ Unless the word bnrt is much older than its earliest attested reference, which is always possible, there is no known term for a palm-column in dynastic Egypt, although the form was a very ancient one

in constant use from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period.

However, more usually, wh₃ was a general term for a column and did not refer to a specific type, although the determinatives could indicate the actual form. Wh₃ was used not only for large, stone columns but also for lighter wooden ones, both in temple architecture for porches and in the context of a ship or a tent.

On present evidence it is not possible to be more specific than this about the meaning of wh₃. It was, however, a very long-lived word, examples being known from the Fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period in hieroglyphic and to the Roman period in demotic. In spite of the fact that wh₃ was still being used at such a late date, it seems to have disappeared from the language by the time the Coptic script was in general use.

- 1 Hassan, ZÄS 80 (1955), 137, fig.1.
- 2 Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XXVI, 196.
- 3 Gardiner, Admonitions, pl.2, 10.
- 4 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs, II, 94. This block is also published by Mariette (Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos, 97, No.545) and the writing of wh₃ is quoted by Newberry (PSBA 22 (1900), 99, note*) and Faulkner (Con. Dict. 67). Mariette reproduces the form of the determinative as  while Faulkner and Newberry both show a papyriform-cluster column. There does not appear to be a published photograph of the block (Cairo 20503 see PM, V, 73) so that one cannot be certain of the exact form of the sign, but as neither Faulkner nor Newberry claim to have collated the text with the original there is no reason to suppose that the sign is a papyriform-cluster column. The block was originally ascribed to the Eleventh Dynasty on the grounds of its similarity to another block from Abydos (Cairo 20502 see Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., 93) which mentions the king Intef-aa who was, at that time, believed to have belonged to the Eleventh Dynasty (Gauthier, Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte, I, 227). However it has since been shown that this king belonged to the Seventeenth Dynasty (Winlock, JEA 10 (1924), 234-237.) and these blocks from Abydos should be re-dated accordingly.
- 5 Urk., IV, 1379, 8.

- 6 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x+16.
- 7 Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), pl.XIIIA, 21, recto 7 (also 3, without \equiv); Černý, JEA 15 (1929), pl.XLIII, recto 2, 6 (B.M. 10055).
- 8 Urk., IV, 765, 13.
- 9 Varille, Karnak, I, pl.XVII, 7.
- 10 Urk., IV, 1712, 2. This is the damaged pedestal inscription of Amenhotep III in the temple of Luxor. For discussion of the form of the determinative here see nḥbwt note 2. Another writing of wh, without a determinative, also occurs on the pedestal (Urk., IV, 1711, 9).
- 11 Spiegelberg, Orientalistische Litteratur-zeitung 5 (1902), 319-320, Ostr. Cairo 25241, recto 2, 4 and 6. For a facsimile of the hieratic see Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.60, b.
- 12 Roeder, ZÄS 61 (1926), 61; pl.IV, 2.
- 13 Posener, Catalogue des Ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Medineh, II, pl.49, Ostr. 1217, 2.
- 14 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5, 10.
- 15 Ibid., 16, 13.
- 16 Mariette, Karnak, pl.40, 4; Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966), pl.II, x+5; x+7.
- 17 Naville, The Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889), pl.VI, frag. 11.
- 18 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pls.7, 23; 8, 23 (Insc. No.43).
- 19 Ibid., I, pl.11, 17; 12, 17 (Insc. No.6).
- 20 Ibid., I, pl.13, 3; 14, 3 (Insc. No.7).
- 21 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88, 3, 2 (Louvre A88).
- 22 Ibid., 101. This statue (now in the museum in Alexandria) was found in the East Harbour at Alexandria and has been ascribed to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty by comparison with Louvre A88 (Daressy, ASAE 5 (1905), 127-128). However see further below note 59.
- 23 De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36 No.72 (July 1961), 300.
- 24 Ibid., 285.
- 25 Wb., I, 352.
- 26 Hassan, loc. cit..
- 27 For a photograph of one of these columns see Jéquier, Architecture, I, pl.6, 1.
- 28 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, M12.
- 29 Wb., I, 532, 12-14.

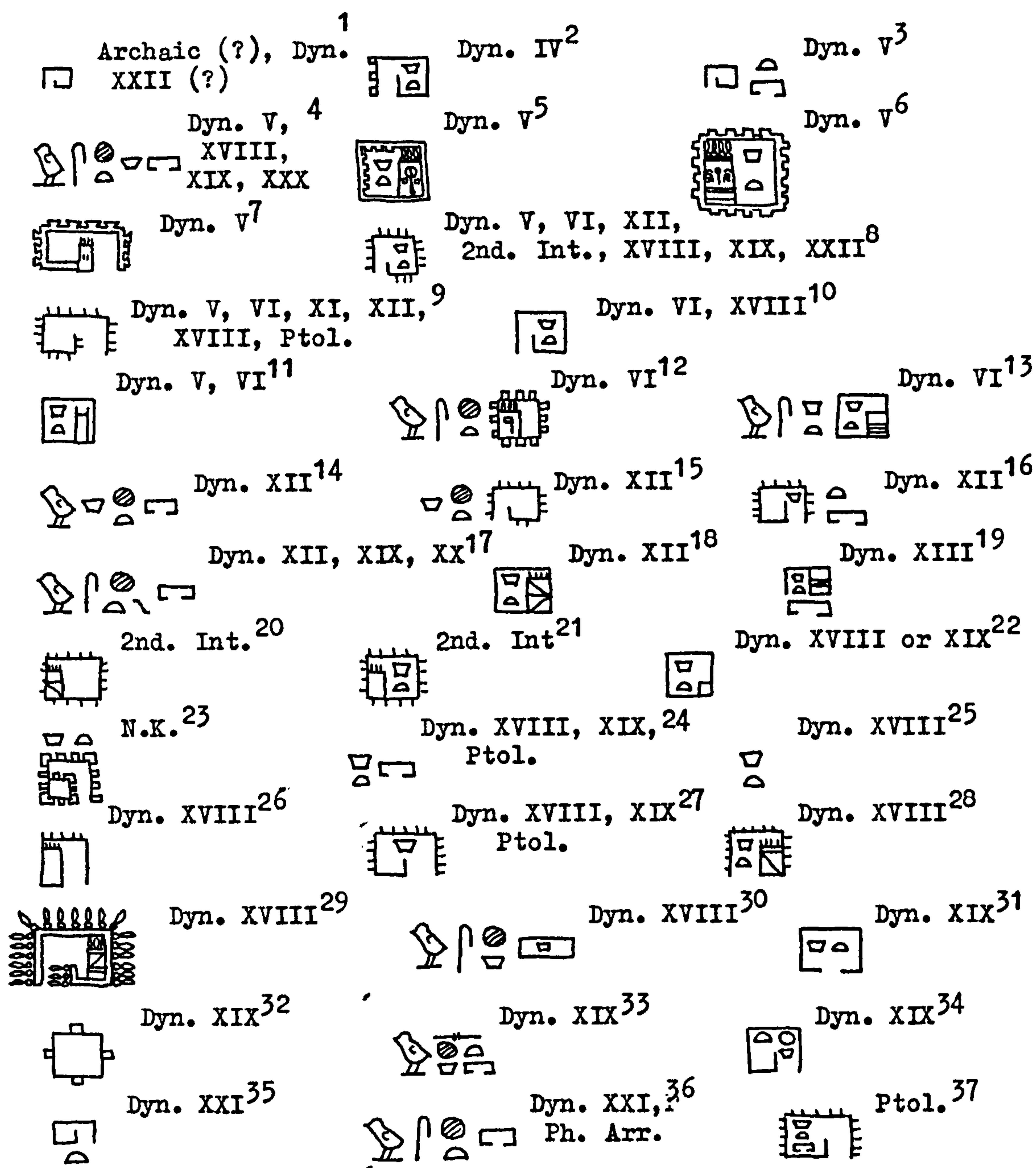
- 30 Wb., I, 532, 15-16. Wh₃ was also used to describe some kind of column or pole which seemed to serve as a divine totem (Erichsen, op. cit., 16, 13. Possibly also Spiegelberg, loc. cit...and Roeder, loc. cit...) This may be connected with the wh-column of Cusae (Wb., I, 352, 2) but is outside the scope of this study.
- 31 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 67.
- 32 Urk., IV, 664, 7; 705, 13.
- 33 Urk., IV, 23, 14; 707, 13.
- 34 Roeder, loc. cit...
- 35 Urk., IV, 1712, 2.
- 36 Macadam, op. cit., I, pls.8, 23; 12, 17; 14, 3.
- 37 ibid., II, 99; 107-9; pls.XIV, IX, c.
- 38 Wallert, Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten, 35-37.
- 39 Wb., I, 462, 1-3.
- 40 Urk., IV, 765, 13. This particular part of the stela was restored in the reign of Seti I but there is no reason to suppose that wh₃w did not occur in the original text.
- 41 For a photograph see Jéquier, Architecture, I, pl.54, 2.
- 42 Varille, loc. cit...
- 43 ibid., pl.XI.
- 44 Jéquier, op. cit., I, pls.62-68.
- 45 Urk., IV, 765, 13; 1379, 8; Sauneron, op. cit., pl.II, x+5; Erichsen, loc. cit...
- 46 Gardiner, Admonitions, pl.2, 10.
- 47 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 94; Nims, loc. cit...
- 48 Erichsen, loc. cit.; Mariette, loc. cit.; Sauneron, op. cit., pl. II, x+5; x+7.
- 49 ibid., 16, note (o). Compare also Nims, op. cit., 73.
- 50 Urk., IV, 1379, 8; Nims, op. cit., fig.7, x+16; Gardiner, loc. cit., (This last by implication, since the wh₃w were destroyed by fire); Urk., IV, 765, 13.
- 51 Hassan, loc. cit.; Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Černy, loc. cit.; Mariette, loc. cit.; Sauneron, op. cit., pl.II, x+7; Brugsch, loc. cit.; Daressy, loc. cit.; Hayes, loc. cit. (By implication, since wh₃ is determined with ⌋).
- 52 Posener, loc. cit...
- 53 Erichsen, loc. cit...
- 54 Černy, loc. cit...

- 55 Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, 26, 196.
- 56 De Wit, op. cit., 285, 300.
- 57 Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus, II, pl.XII, Ostr. Philae 27, 1.
- 58 LD, I, 107b; 108, III. For photographs of this column in situ see; - Lyons, A Report on the Island and Temples of Philae, pls.39-40, (column No.19). A further Roman example of wh3 "column" exists on the "Barberini Obelisk" of which I have been unable to find a publication. Brugsch (Wörterbuch, 269) gives a spelling of ⲥⲓ and the text is translated, without a copy of the inscription, by Erman Römische Obelisk, 17, IV, c.
- 59 Other wh3w have also been identified with existing palm-columns. The description of the columns is found, in two similar accounts, on statues of the official Hor which are generally regarded as belonging to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (Louvre A88 and an unnumbered statue in the Alexandria museum. See note 22 above and, for a bibliography of each statue, see Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 85; 100.) However Vercoutter (ibid., 85-114), although admitting that, on stylistic grounds, he would prefer to date the statues to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, equates the work described by Hor with work of the Thirtieth Dynasty at Heracleopolis. This is in the temple of Horshaf which was excavated by Petrie (Ehnasya, 5-17; pls.V-XI).who found it to have been mainly the work of Ramesses II with some later rebuilding, possibly in the reign of Nectanebo II. There was no definite evidence for rebuilding in the Saite period. At the front of the temple is a row of granite palm-columns and it is these which Vercoutter would like to identify with the "wh3w of granite" in the two texts.



Since these columns are covered with the name of Ramesses II they can not have been erected by Hor whether he lived in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty or the Thirtieth. It is possible that Hor restored the columns and then claimed to have built them, but one would then have expected them to have been inscribed with the cartouche of the king for whom the work was carried out. A further objection to Vercoutter's theory is that the side walls of the court which he would equate with the "south and north inbw" of the text on Louvre A88 do in fact lie to the east and west of the temple which faces south. In addition the elements named by Hor do exist

in the Ramesside temple at Heracleopolis but equally could be found in any normal Egyptian temple and it is possible that there was once a Late Period temple at Heracleopolis which has since been destroyed.

Consequently while it is tempting to accept Vercoutter's identification which would provide further evidence that the basic meaning of wh was "palm-column", it is not yet possible to identify positively the wh of the Hor texts with the palm-columns of the Heracleopolitan temple of Horshef.

wsht

The examples of wsht shown above do not claim to be exhaustive as the number of ways in which this word could be written is almost as great as the total number of writings. These variants do, however, present a representative selection.

In examples which employed the  enclosure the sign could be depicted with or without the "battlements" and where these did appear their form and number could differ considerably. In addition the signs enclosed by the  could vary, as could those within the "palace" if

it were included. Ptolemaic writings which use the "battlemented" enclosure usually give, within the sign, the name of the hall in question.

Wsht is a word which occurred in many different contexts from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period. Etymologically it is derived from the root wsh "to be broad" ³⁸ and has, therefore, generally been regarded as the name for a "(broad) hall or court" ³⁹ similar in type to words such as wsh "broad necklace" ⁴⁰ and wsh "transport ship for cargo". ⁴¹

In the Old Kingdom wsht occurred in titles such as the common hrp wsht ⁴² and imy-r wsht ⁴³ and also, in mythological contexts in the Pyramid Texts. There are exceptions, ⁴⁴ but in general, in these texts, the wsht is either a hall in which offerings were made or one from which offerings came. ⁴⁵ The connection between the wsht and offerings was, thus, established at a very early date and is reflected by the name htr wsht which was one of the regular donations in the offering lists, ⁴⁶ and is also mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. ⁴⁷ The implication that offerings were frequently made in the wsht is supported by the archaeological evidence from the only Old Kingdom wsht which can be identified with any degree of certainty.

This is the large, open court, surrounded by a colonnade of lotiform columns, in the mortuary temple of Neferirkare at Abusir. ⁴⁸ There can be no doubt that this court is the wsht with thirty-seven lotiform columns (nhbwt q. v.) ⁴⁹ which is mentioned in an inspection-account in the Abusir Papyri. ⁵⁰ This open court originally contained an altar ⁵¹ so there can be no doubt that offering ceremonies were performed there.

It is not possible to identify any other wsht of the Old Kingdom so it is difficult to determine the nature of the wsht in the earliest periods of Egyptian history. The detailed depictions of the Old Kingdom writings often show a palace, labelled as hd, standing in the corner of the enclosure and it is tempting to interpret this arrangement as a representation of the ancient form of the wsht. In origin, therefore, one would expect the wsht to have been an open court, presumably broader than it was long, surrounding and protecting an important building such as a palace. The projections on the wsht-sign are probably buttresses rather than battlements, reflecting the popularity of the niched wall in both secular ⁵² and funerary ⁵³ architecture of the Archaic period. However, by the Fifth Dynasty,

the word has come to be used of an open court which formed a part of, rather than enclosed, the pyramid temple of Neferirkare so it must be assumed that, during the early Old Kingdom, wsht was transferred from an outer court to one within a building. It is this later meaning which was retained and developed.

As usual the lack of evidence from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, both of actual temple remains and detailed building texts, precludes the identification of temple wsht. However it is clear that, by the Twelfth Dynasty at least, wsht was in regular use as a term for a court or hall in a temple.

The building accounts contained in Papyrus Reisner III refer to a wsht nt hwt-ntr,⁵⁴ while a papyrus from Lahun, recording the inspection of the hwt-ntr of the pyramid-town of Ankh-Sesostris, mentions various wsht in the temple.⁵⁵

Rather more information about a temple wsht can be obtained from column-drums of Amenemhat III from Crocodilopolis. These drums describe the building, for Sobek, of "a wsht, its w3d-columns and its s3wt in granite, its sb3w in electrum."⁵⁶ The wsht was clearly the hall in which these granite papyriform cluster columns were erected so this wsht must have been either a roofed hypostyle hall, or an open court with colonnades, similar to that of Neferirkare at Abusir.

An interesting Thirteenth Dynasty stela, of Sebekhotep VIII, which was found within the Third Pylon at Karnak, records that an unusually high inundation flooded the temple of Amun. "His majesty proceeded to the wsht of the r-pr (and) Hapi, the great one, was seen coming to his majesty, the wsht of this r-pr being full of water. His majesty waded in it...."⁵⁷ A similar, but less well-preserved, text on the other side of the stela describes the same events.⁵⁸ Unfortunately the plan of the Middle Kingdom temple is largely a matter for speculation so this wsht can not be identified with any existing hall. However as so much emphasis was placed on the fact that the wsht of the temple was flooded, it can be assumed that it was one of the main halls or courts of the temple. This is also suggested by another Second Intermediate Period stela, of Sebekhotep IV, who carried out building-work in the Amun temple. He records making "a pure s3tw in the wsht w3dyt of this hwt-ntr."⁵⁹ The adjective w3dyt has no determinative but, in such a context,

presumably refers to the fact that the wsht contained w3d columns.⁶⁰

It can, therefore, be assumed that the early temple of Amun at Karnak included an important colonnaded hall or court which was known as a wsht.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty various wsht are attested in the same temple but most of these can not be positively identified. One exception is the hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons which is described by Amenhotep II as a "wsht ofnbb3e w3d-columns".⁶¹ This same hall was also called a w3dyt⁶² and a 3wnyt,⁶³ both of which reflect the fact that the hall contained columns. In view of the etymological origin of wsht it is interesting to note that, in this case at least, a wsht was broader than it was deep.⁶⁴ This is the first known use of wsht for a hypostyle hall rather than a colonnaded court.

Further wsht at Karnak can not be so firmly identified. Among the sandstone blocks of Tuthmosis IV which were extracted from the Third Pylon are a number which make up a scene of bulls. Along the top of this scene is an incomplete building text which mentions a hft-hr m 3nr mn3 n rwdt phrw m 3wnw.⁶⁵ The first word has been restored by Barguet⁶⁶ as wsht, and, in view of the fact that similar expressions to wsht hft-hr are attested elsewhere,⁶⁷ this restoration is almost certainly correct. The exact nature of the building (or buildings) from which these blocks came is still uncertain.⁶⁸ Barguet considers it to have been a colonnaded court situated in front of the Fourth Pylon.⁶⁹

Another example of wsht occurs on a granite block from the sanctuary of Tuthmosis III at Karnak. This building text describes a wsht 3t w3dyt t3w m 3nr n rwdt, "a great columned wsht (with) sandstone t3-columns".⁷⁰ Originally Nims identified this as the court behind the Sixth Pylon⁷¹ but he later reconsidered and decided that it referred to the pillared hall of the Festival Temple of Tuthmosis III.⁷² Barguet had previously suggested that this was the hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons.⁷³ Which of these identifications is correct is impossible to say. Both the hall of Tuthmosis I and the court behind the Sixth Pylon had papyriform columns⁷⁴ and so could have been described as w3dyt, while the form of the determinatives of the unusual word t3w(q.v.) would support the view that it was the rare tent-pole columns of the Festival Temple to which the text refers.⁷⁵

Whichever of these interpretations is correct, it is clear that

in the Eighteenth Dynasty there was more than one wsht in the Amun temple at Karnak. It is evident that wsht was not being used of one particular hall in the temple but as a term for any large and important hall or court. The fact that there could be more than one wsht in any temple is also illustrated by a text of Amenhotep III, describing his hwt nt hhw m rnpwt at Memphis in which were wshwt.⁷⁶ The plan of this temple is unknown but, presumably, wshwt referred to all the major halls or courts within the building.

A wsht of the reign of Amenhotep II is known to have existed in the temple of Medamud⁷⁷ but, as this example seems to be an abbreviation for wsht hbyt, it will be discussed below.⁷⁸

There was also a wsht in the great temple of the Aten at Amarna. This is described as the wsht n hwt bnbn m pr itn⁷⁹ and must have been one of the courts of the great temple.⁸⁰ There was another wsht at Amarna which can be identified more positively but it was a part of the so-called "great palace", not the main temple, and will be detailed below.

In the temple of Seti I at Abydos a dedicatory text for the Butcher's Annexe describes it as a shw w'b with a wsht and wdjw.⁸² The wdjw will be the three storerooms, opening onto the Butcher's Hall itself and it is most likely that the wsht is the main hall although it could also, possibly, be the smaller hall with four columns.⁸³ Two further texts from this temple refer to the same wsht.⁸⁴

The colonnaded court which Rameses II added onto the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Luxor is described as a "wsht in front of his (Amun's) ipt,"⁸⁵ while the same king used wsht to describe the hypostyle hall of his Theban mortuary temple,⁸⁶ indicating, quite clearly, that wsht could be used of both a forecourt and a hypostyle hall in the same reign.

Later texts, of the Twentieth to Twenty-Second Dynasties, show, by using the plural form, that there were a number of wshwt in the temple of Amun at Karnak.⁸⁷ If any principal hall or court could be designated a wsht then the addition of descriptive adjectives to help specify the wsht in question became necessary. This is demonstrated in a Twentieth Dynasty papyrus which describes how the Vizier made offerings for the workmen of the Royal Tomb in t3 wsht '3t "the great wsht"⁸⁸ of the temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu. The use of the adjunct '3t would have distinguished this wsht from any other in the same temple.

This use of descriptive adjectives led, from the New Kingdom, to the formulation of various compounds of wsht, the most common of which, wsht hbyt, will be discussed separately below.⁸⁹ Others, which occur only rarely, include wsht h'yt⁹⁰ which is found in the Nineteenth Dynasty and must have described the hall into which the image of the god made its appearance. There is also the term wsht n bnr "the outer wsht" which is self-explanatory,⁹¹ and the Graeco-Roman expression wsht mš',⁹² which was used for that part of the temple to which the public could be admitted, probably the area immediately in front of the pylon.

In the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu every hall on the main axis of the temple was described as a wsht and so the name of the hall was added to the noun in order to specify the hall in question.⁹³

In the context of a temple, therefore, the development of wsht is quite clear. The word originated as a large open enclosure and was, by the Old Kingdom, transferred to an open colonnaded court within a temple. In the Middle Kingdom the wsht is known to have contained columns, but whether in a hypostyle hall or in colonnades can not be decided. However, by the New Kingdom, wsht could certainly be used of both the hypostyle hall and the open forecourt. The increased use of the plural form and the evidence of the Ptolemaic texts from Edfu show that, eventually, wsht could describe any of the major halls or courts within a temple. It is noticeably never used of siderooms or stores.

In relation to the palace it is, as one would expect, much more difficult to identify particular wshtwt, although something of the nature of a palace wsht can be reconstructed from the evidence available.

In the reign of Hatshepsut there was a royal palace ('h) attached to the temple of Amun at Karnak. In one place this is called the 'h n wsht.⁹⁴ There are no remains extant of this palace which Gitton has suggested was situated in front of the Fourth Pylon (at that time the entrance to the temple).⁹⁵ It is possible that the wsht in question was a part of the temple added to 'h in order to fix its position within the temple complex.

Other wshtwt which are connected with palaces are, however, clearly within the palaces themselves. In the reign of Tuthmosis III his heir,

the prince Amenhotep, was taught to shoot in the wsht of the pr-ʿ3 of Thinis,⁹⁶ which must have been a large open court. On the other hand the wsht which was full of records in the office (h3) of the Vizier Rekhmire must have been an inner roofed room.⁹⁷ One further wsht which can be identified with actual remains is in the "great palace" at Amarna.⁹⁸ The ceremonial open court at the front of the building is almost certainly the wsht itn to which reference is made in various fragmentary inscriptions, found in the area around the court.⁹⁹

This evidence that wsht could be used for a large ceremonial court in front of a building is supported by other texts in which captives and plunder from foreign campaigns were assembled in the wsht of the palace and inspected by the king.¹⁰⁰

However, more usually in the New Kingdom wsht occurs in the plural form in contexts from which it can only be deduced that wshtwt pr-nsu¹⁰¹ had become a standard phrase to describe the royal palace; the court. One text, at least, implies that access to the wshtwt pr-nsu was not easy ".....as for he who reaches the wshtwt pr-nsu, he is like the waves of the sea, one remains alive while a thousand die."¹⁰²

In the palace, as in the temple, it would seem that wsht was used originally for a large open court and was later transferred to all the principal rooms of the palace, so that the residence itself could be referred to as the wshtwt pr-nsu.

Even when wsht is used of more than one hall or court within a building, whether a temple or a palace, it is only found to refer to large and important rooms, and, for this reason, it is not usually applied to private houses. One exception to this is a Twentieth Dynasty papyrus which tells how a private individual, Raia, built a fine bhn for himself, containing wshtwt.¹⁰³ Since the text goes on to praise the building in great detail it can be assumed that the use of wshtwt in this context is to emphasise the size of the house and the importance of its owner.

One further use of wsht, a detailed study of which would be outside the scope of this work, is as a place of judgement, usually in mythological contexts,¹⁰⁴ which presumably reflects a similar use of the term on earth.


Various wshtwt of the gods are known some of which may be actual courts within the temples of the gods,¹⁰⁵ while others appear to be purely mythological.¹⁰⁶

One final use of wsht was to describe the large open court in which the Sed festival was celebrated. This is shown particularly by the title ỉry-p^t (ỉ)r(y) dnbw wsht which is attested for the Middle and New Kingdoms¹⁰⁷ and which was held by the official responsible for the symbolic dnbw around which the king would run.¹⁰⁸ Further proof of this meaning of wsht is provided by a scene of Hatshepsut wearing the short hb-sd robe which is entitled "coming and going to the pr-nsr, to the wsht hb-sd."¹⁰⁹ This use of the term is of particular interest as it supports the view that the original pre- or early dynastic wsht was a large open court such as that found within the Step Pyramid enclosure which is, in fact, a copy, for the afterlife, of the Heb-sed court on earth.

Wsht is a very ancient word which was used primarily for large halls or courts in temples and palaces. Although it was probably first applied to open courts within such buildings it later came to be refer to all the principal halls, including the hypostyle hall and the forecourt. In view of this fact, unless the context suggests a more specific translation, one should only use such general translations as "hall" or "court" for wsht. Unlike the compound wsht hbyt (q.v.), wsht was never applied to one particular part of the temple or palace.


Since the use of wsht was confined almost exclusively to palaces and temples, the word disappeared from the language when such buildings were no longer in use, and it, consequently, does not occur in Coptic.

- 1 Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pls.110, abb.579; 111, abb.597; 598. (According to Kaplony (Ibid., I, 1167) the former of these writings of wsht occurs in a title "hm-ntr-Ḥthr von der wsht (oder hm-ntr in der wsht der Ḥthr)" while the second example, which is found on two cylinder seals, is in the proper name "Nj²-wsht-Nt" (Ibid., I, 1169). I can find no corroborative evidence for either the title or a connection between the wsht and either goddess. Nor is the name Nj²-wsht-Nt noted by Ranke (Personennamen). Since the reading and interpretation of these early seals is still rather problematical, and the sign in question could be read as alphabetic h the existence of wsht on the Archaic seals can not be taken for granted. It must be under-

stood, however, that the wsht enclosure was undoubtedly a very ancient type of edifice and that the lack of evidence for its existence prior to the Fourth Dynasty is merely a result of the paucity of inscribed material which has survived from the first three dynasties.); Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl.16, 51. Caminos, (The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, 68-69,) reads the sign  as wsht but finds it "disturbing" that wsht should have been used in such a context to mean a "scribal office or scriptorium". There are, however, titles linking a wsht with scribal offices in the Old Kingdom; hrp sš wsht (Borchardt, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches, I, 186; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire, 247) and hrp sš m wsht ʿ3(t) (Hassan, Giza, V, 263, fig.119; pl.XXXIII, A), so it is possible that wsht was used to describe a scribal office. The alternative would be to take this writing as an example of the rare word h from which the alphabetic sign acquired its phonetic value (Wb., II, 470, 1-2; Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 04). The exact meaning of this word is doubtful and the contexts in which it occurs are singularly unhelpful. Gardiner (loc. cit.) notes that a Late Period sign papyrus describes the sign as a pr n sht "field-house" so the h would have been a light temporary structure rather than an established hall or court. Fairman (ASAE 43(1943), 308) noted that Grdseloff was of the opinion that all writings of h were, in fact, variants of wsht. However the examples of h quoted by the Wörterbuch(Belegstellen, II, 715 (ref.470, 1-2)) would not seem to support this view. It is certainly true that the two "enclosure" signs were interchangeable in writings of wsht, and an example is quoted by Fairman (loc. cit.) of the reverse procedure where sign 013 occurs in place of 04 in a writing of ihı (Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Mastaba of Mereruka, I, pl.80).

2 Junker, Giza, XI, 55, abb.33.

3 Urk., I, 47, 10 (This word, in the title wd' mdw m wsht, was read as h3yt both by Hassan (Giza, V, 238, No.14, translated as "audience chamber") and Fischer (MIO 7 (1960), 304, note 9). Fischer noted that this was an example of the judicial function of the h3yt. I can find no evidence that h3yt was ever used as the name of a court, although the title smsw h3yt was often held by officials

- who also had judicial functions. There are, however, firm links between the wsht and the judicial procedures so it is more likely that this writing is for wsht than for h3yt. This title can be compared with the similar imy-r wd' mdw n wsht (Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, pl.XVIII). Finally it can be noted that, in the same tomb at Giza as the title under discussion, the offering h3p wsht is also written with the sign  (Hassan, op. cit., V, 252, fig. 111).
- 4 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.XXXIIA, 11 (other writings of wsht in the same archive employ the "enclosure" sign, see; ibid., pls.VIIA, B; LIIA, A, 3, b); Urk., IV, 2060, 11; The Nineteenth Dynasty writings use the same signs in different groupings, (e.g. KRI, I, 358, 4; IV, 9, 11); Naville, Goshen and the Shrine of Saft-el-Henneh, pl.5, 3.
 - 5 Davies, N[orman] de G., The Tomb of Ptahhotep, I, pl.XVIII, 406. For further examples with the buttresses inverted see Ibid., pl. XXVIII; LD, II, 48.
 - 6 Murray, op. cit., pls.XX+XXV. For similar examples see; Ibid., II, pl. VI; Davies, op. cit., I, pl.XII, fig.225; II, pl.VI.
 - 7 Murray, op. cit., pl.XVIII. The exceptional shape of the buttresses in this writing may be an attempt to indicate more realistically the niched facade of the enclosure.
 - 8 The form, number and positioning of the buttresses in the following writing varies considerably but the basic form of the sign remains the same. LD, II, 103; Mariette, op. cit., 230; Pyr., 905b; 1749a; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 121; 176, b, 4; Mariette, Catalogue général des Monuments d'Abydos, 261; Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 135; Urk., IV, 1092, 6; Abd el-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 147, 3; Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, III, 59.
 - 9 The same variations listed for note 8 also apply here. Murray, op. cit., pl.XXIII; Pyr. 59c; Griffith and Newberry, El-Bersheh, II, pl.XIII, 9; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XXXV; LD, III, 25, 1; De Wit, Ch. d'Eg., 36 No.71 (Jan. 1961), 69; 90.
 - 10 Pyr., 1069a; Urk., IV, 265, 5.
 - 11 LD, II, 64, a; Murray, op. cit., pl.IX; Davies, op. cit., II, pl. XVIII; Pyr., 1551a.
 - 12 Pyr., 1984a.

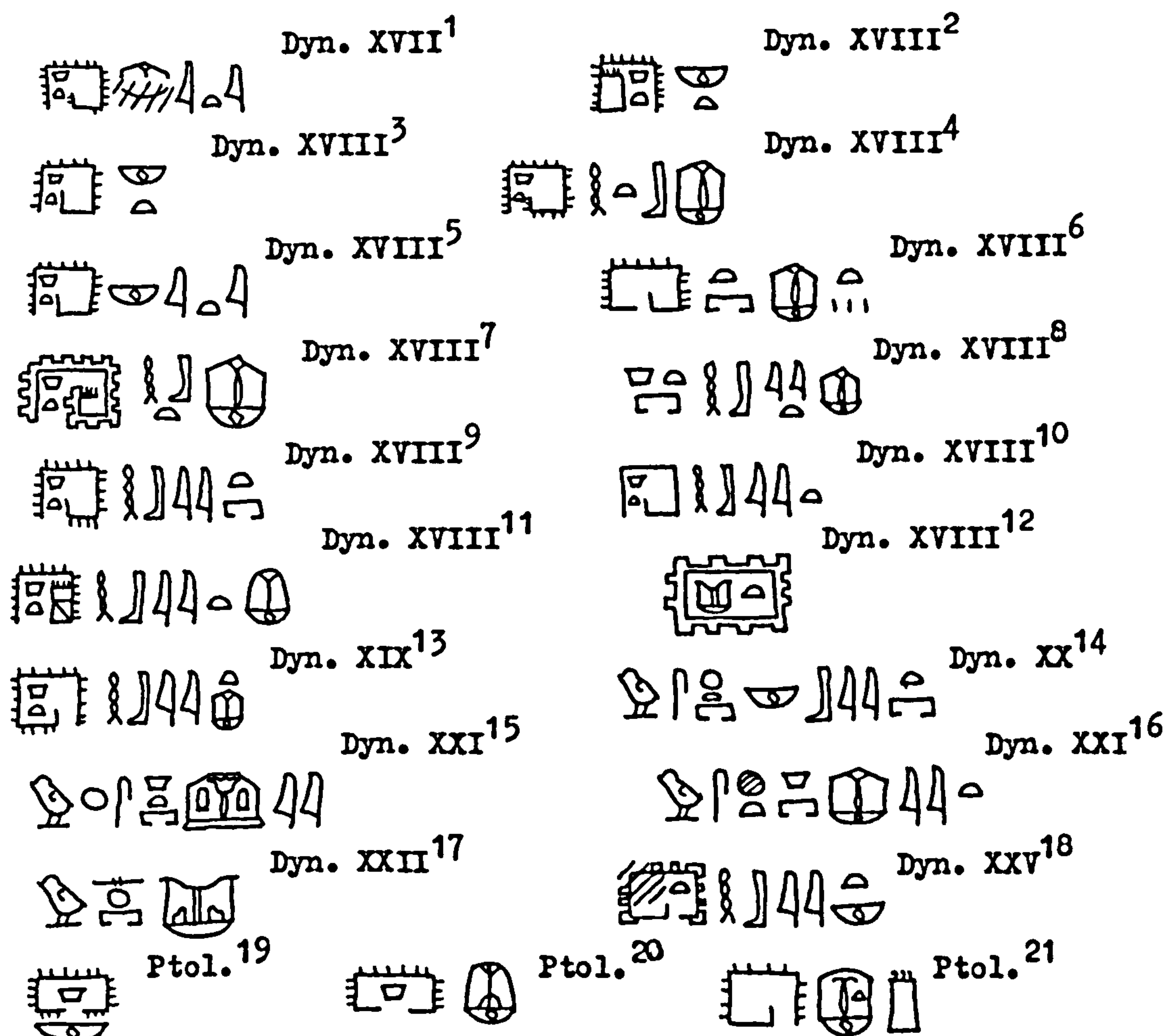
- 13 Pyr., 1266b.
- 14 Simpson, Papyrus Reisner III, pl.15A, G, 5, 23.
- 15 Ibid., pl.10A, E, 4; similar, pl.10A, E, 36.
- 16 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, pl.16, Gr.17, 3.
- 17 Scharff, ZÄS 59 (1924), Autographed pages, 10, 7; 11, 9-10 (papyrus 10096); Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 20, 3; 108, 3; 110, 15; Id., Late Egyptian Stories, 39, 4; 40, 7; 56, 2; Id., Ramesside Administrative Documents, 64, 12. This is the usual writing of wsht in Late Egyptian hieratic texts. Writings with the cursive w c are also common, see; Id., Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 66, 16; 80, 8; 124, 6.
- 18 Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88.
- 19 Id., SAK I (1974), 209; pl.I.
- 20 Helck, MDAIK, 24 (1969), 199, 11; pl.XVII, 11.
- 21 Mariette, Abydos, II, 30, 28.
- 22 Louvre stela C286; Wreszinski, Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K. Hofmuseum in Wien, 56 (omitting the t).
- 23 Berlin Königlichen Museen, Aegyptische Inschriften, II, 4, D, 3.
- 24 Urk., IV, 116, 9; 66, 17; 976, 13; 1483, 12; 1795, 13; 1778, 6; Janssen, Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs, 9, x+11; De Wit, op. cit., 90.
- 25 Urk., IV, 1644, 5 (in the proper name 'Imn-m-wsht, see Ranke, Personennamen, I, 28, 2).
- 26 Berlin Königlichen Museen, op. cit., II, 38.
- 27 Schiaparelli, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Antichita Egizie, 204; Naville, Les Quatres Stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille, pl.XIII; De Wit, op. cit., No.72, (July 1961), 312.
- 28 Urk., IV, 1331, 11.
- 29 Griffith, A Collection of Hieroglyphs, pl.3, 30.
- 30 Davies, N[orman] de G, El Amarna, II, pl.IX.
- 31 KRI, I, 194, 1 and 10.
- 32 Naville, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, III, pl.X, B, e, 3.
- 33 LDT, III, 134.
- 34 Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II in Karnak, pl.19, bild 21.
- 35 Hamada, ASAE 47 (1947), 17, 5.
- 36 Brugsch, Reise nach der Grossen Oase El Khatgeh in der Libyschen Wüste, pl.XXII, 9.

- 37 De Wit, op. cit., 285, 288; Ibid., No.71, (Jan 1961), 68.
- 38 Wb., I, 364, 11-19; 365, 1-3.
- 39 Ibid., I, 366, 5-17; 367, 1-2; Gardiner, Onom., II, 208* 428; Id., Grammar, 562; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 69.
- 40 Wb., I, 365, 16.
- 41 Ibid., 366, 1-2; similar, 366, 3-4.
- 42 Ibid., 367, 1.
- 43 Ibid., 367, 2.
- 44 Pyr., 1266b; 1551a; 1749a; 1984a.
- 45 Ibid., 214c; 807b; 866a; 905b; 1069a.
- 46 Barta, Die Altägyptische Opferliste, passim.
- 47 Pyr., 59c; 103b; See also De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 209f.
- 48 Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ke3-re⁴, pl.10.
- 49 Posener-Kriéger, Archives Néferirkarê, II, 499-501.
- 50 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XXXIIA, 11.
- 51 Borchardt, op. cit., 7.
- 52 Weeks, JARCE 9 (1971-1972), 29-33, see especially the plan of the gateway.
- 53 Emery, Great Tombs of the First Dynasty, I-III.
- 54 Simpson, op. cit., pls.10A, E, 36; 10A, E, 4; 15A, G, 5, 23. For a discussion of wsht as used in this papyrus see Ibid., 37.
- 55 Scharff, loc. cit..
- 56 Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88.
- 57 Id., SAK I (1974), 211; pl.II.
- 58 Ibid., 209; pl.F.
- 59 Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199, 11; pl.XVII, 11.
- 60 Helck (Ibid., 196) translates wsht w3dyt as "Saulenhalle".
- 61 Urk., IV, 1331, 11.
- 62 Ibid., 157, 13; 158, 8; 374, 11; 1328, 1-3.
- 63 Ibid., 365, 3.
- 64 PM., II, pl.X.
- 65 Chevrier, ASAE 51 (1951), 572, fig.8; Id., ASAE 52 (1954), 250, pl.VIII.
- 66 Barguet, Temple, 95.
- 67 Compare; Abd el-Razik, loc. cit. (wsht.s m hft-hr ipt.f) and LDT, III, 134 (wsht '3t špsst.....hft-hr.s).
- 68 Sauneron, BIFAO 75 (1975), 453.
- 69 Barguet, loc. cit..

- 70 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x+3.
- 71 Ibid., 72.
- 72 Nims, Beiträge Bf.12, Festschrift Ricke, 107, note 3.
- 73 Barguet, op. cit., 54.
- 74 See w3d p.59.
- 75 See t3 p.285 and c3 p.30-31.
- 76 Urk., IV, 1795, 13.
- 77 Ibid., 1483, 12.
- 78 See wsht h'yt p.109.
- 79 Davies, op. cit., I, pLXXVII; IV, pl.XXXIII (Apy 6); VI, pl.XIV, (ceiling inscription S.); XVI, 10. See also Ibid., II, pl.IX for offerings made in the wsht at Amarna.
- 80 Fairman in Pendlebury, City of Akhenaten, III, Text, 194-195.
- 81 See p.98.
- 82 KRI, I, 194, 1.
- 83 PM, VI, 22.
- 84 KRI, I, 194, 10; Mariette, op. cit., I, 53. Compare also, in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, Ibid., II, 7.
- 85 Abd el-Razik, loc.cit.. An Eighteenth Dynasty wsht at Luxor has been taken to have been a peristyle court in front of the temple; Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 133; 135, note j.
- 86 LDT, III, 134.
- 87 Gardiner, JEA 41 (1955), pl.X (P. Turin 1882, recto, IV, 2); Barguet, op. cit., 37; Brugsch, loc. cit.; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl.21, 15.
- 88 Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 64, 12.
- 89 See p.107-113.
- 90 Legrain, BIFAO 13 (1917), 3, No.7; 8, note 1 (also Barguet, op. cit., 315); KRI, I, 75, 14; LD, III, 132, b. Barguet, (op. cit., 314) also suggests that the hall of Tuthmosis I between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons at Karnak was a wsht h'yt but he does not cite any evidence for this. At Tôd the excavation report calls the columned hall of Sesostri I a wsht h'yt (Bisson de la Roque, Tôd, 8; 13; 15; 18) but, again, no evidence for this is presented.
- 91 Wb., I, 461, 10.
- 92 Wb., I, 366, 11.
- 93 De Wit, op. cit., No.71 (Jan. 1961), 68; 69; 90; No.72 (July

- 1962), 285; 288; 289; 293; 311; 312. For other temple wsḥwt (less easily identified) in the Ptolemaic period see; Barguet, Le Papyrus N.3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre, 17, V, 24 (a wsḥt of Amonit which Barguet identifies with the hypostyle hall at Karnak); Ray, The Archive of Hor, 74, 16; pl.XXI (a wsḥt in which a court of elders was held and which Ray suggests (*ibid.*, 79, note n) referred to the "forecourt" of the temple of Ptah at Memphis.)
- 94 Lacau and Chevrier, *op. cit.*, I, 98, Karnak, 11.
- 95 Gitton, BIFAO 74 (1974), 63-73. See also Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gaus, 25.
- 96 Urk., IV, 976, 13.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 1092, 6-7.
- 98 Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, III, pls.XIIIB; XIV. For the view that this building was a temple rather than a palace see; Uphill, JNES 29 (1970), 151-166. See also šwt-r'(ḥrṣḥty), below p. 262-3.
- 99 Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, III, pls.CII, 31; CIII, 41.
- 100 KRI, IV, 9, 11; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 20, 3.
- 101 *Ibid.*, 66, 16; 80, 8; 108, 3. See also Urk., IV, 2159, 14 (wsḥwt n 'ḥnwtj in the reign of Horemheb); Gardiner, JEA 10, (1924), 90; Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 256, note on (19, 6).
- 102 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 124, 6.
- 103 *Ibid.*, 110, 15.
- 104 E.g. Urk., I, 47, 10; Smither, JEA 28 (1942), 17, 10; Mariette, *op. cit.*, II, 30, 28; Urk., IV, 66, 17; Naville, Les Quatres Stèles orientées du Musée de Marseille, pl.XIII; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 39, 4; 40, 7; 56, 5.
- 105 Janssen, *op. cit.*, 9, line x+11 of text; Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II in Karnak, pl.19, bild 21; Hamada, *loc. cit.*.
- 106 Pyr., 1984a; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire, 230. See in particular the wsḥt of Geb; Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, I, 63; II, 31; Lange and Schäfer, *op. cit.*, I, 176, b, 4; Naville, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari, III, pl.X, B, e, 3; KRI, I, 358, 4; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 38, 9; Mariette, Catalogue general des Monuments d'Abydos, 261; Berlin Königliche Museen, *op. cit.*, II, 226; Wreszinski, *op. cit.*, 56. Wsḥt also occurs in such names as 'Imn-m-wsḥt (Urk., IV, 1644, 5); Nmty-m-wsḥt (Mariette, *op. cit.*, 914; Lange and Schäfer, *op. cit.*, I,

- 121; 122). For a list of such names see; Ranke, Personennamen, III, 44.
- 107 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 152, 6; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XXXV; LDT, III, 252; Urk., IV, 1513, 13; Schiaparelli, op. cit., 266; Urk., IV, 1881, 4; 1897, 10; Naville, Bubastis, pl.XXXV, E.
- 108 Spencer, JEA 64 (1978), 52-55.
- 109 Naville, Deir el-Bahari, III, pl.LXIV (Urk., IV, 265,5).

wsht hbyt

Wsht hbyt is the most frequently found compound of wsht, and it is the only one which survives in enough examples for any detailed conclusions to be made, concerning its position and function in an Egyptian temple.²² The earliest writing known dates to the Seventeenth Dynasty which may suggest that wsht hbyt was the name applied to a part of the temple which had not existed previously, although the absence of earlier writings could be just an accident of survival. The term occurs often in the Eighteenth Dynasty, but only sporadically in later periods. As one would expect with a word which was confined in use to temple architecture, wsht hbyt has no equivalent in Coptic.

The Wörterbuch translates wsht hbyt as "Festhof des Tempels"²³ and Faulkner as "festival hall".²⁴

As has been shown above wsht alone could refer to any of the principal halls or courts of a temple, although originally it was used of an open court. Consequently one would expect wsht hbyt to be the

specific name of one of these major halls, presumably one in which festal ceremonies took place. Barguet concluded that "il ne s'agissait pas de la cour véritable du temple, celle qui précède le pronaos ou la salle hypostyle, mais d'un espace s'étendant dans l'encinte du temple, en avant du pylône d'entrée".²⁵ He considered that the wsht hbyt was a court in which were held certain ceremonies to which a selected number of members of the public were admitted.²⁶ On present evidence it is not possible to be specific about the function of the wsht hbyt, it is, however, possible to identify the position of the wsht hbyt within the temple.

The earliest wsht hbyt so far known was in the Seventeenth Dynasty temple of Osiris at Abydos. Since the text which mentions the term is on a column it can be assumed that the wsht hbyt was either a hypostyle hall or a colonnaded court. The latter, in view of later evidence, is more likely to be correct. It is of interest that the inscription, of king Intef V, states, [lr].n.f wsht hbyt m mwt, "He made the wsht hbyt anew",²⁷ suggesting that there had already been such a court in the temple. If this earlier court were of the Middle Kingdom then the history of the term would be carried back further than can be proved on present evidence.

From the reign of Hatshepsut there are a number of references to a wsht hbyt in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Unfortunately these do not occur in dedication inscriptions in any particular halls or courts. There are two references to the fact that the tribute from the Punt expedition was measured and offered to Amun in the wsht hbyt²⁸ and two of the blocks from the sanctuary of Hatshepsut show a scene of the barque of Amun being carried by the priests with a descriptive title sh-t m wsht hbyt.²⁹ Lacau and Chevrier have suggested that this wsht hbyt was the hypostyle hall of Tuthmosis I between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons.³⁰ This hall was described, later, by Amenhotep II, as a wsht³¹ although it is not called a wsht hbyt in any text which can be firmly ascribed to it. The identification of the wsht hbyt in the reign of Hatshepsut³² will be discussed below when more conclusive evidence for the usual location of this court has been presented.

Fortunately such evidence does exist, as courts in various temples are known to have been called wsht hbyt.

In the South temple at Buhen an inscription on one of the columns of the court describes the making, by Tuthmosis III, of a wsht hbyt.³³

As has been noted by Caminos ³⁴ this can only refer to the court in which the column stands. There is some doubt as to whether this court was open to the sky or roofed ³⁵ but it would seem to be most likely that it was an open court with only the colonnades roofed over.

The Amada stela of Amenhotep II describes the temple as containing "a sandstone pylon in front of the wsht hbyt", ³⁶ leaving no doubt at all that the term was being used to describe the forecourt of the temple. In the reign of Amenhotep II this was an open court with only four columns along the facade of the hypostyle hall. ³⁷ The same forecourt was also called, on the same stela, a lwnyt, illustrating the distinction in Egyptian between a name which described the physical appearance of a hall, lwnyt, and a name which specified the function of the same hall, wsht hbyt.

The parallel stela, which describes the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, also mentions a wsht hbyt. ³⁸ The plan of this temple has not been recovered but it is of interest to note that another reference to the wsht hbyt of Amenhotep II at Elephantine exists on a block which was reused in the temple of Trajan on the island. This describes the making, for Khnum, of a "wsht hbyt so that all the people (rhyt) might see." ³⁹ This text would support Barguet's view that the wsht hbyt was open to certain members of the public, at least on the occasions of festivals.

The remaining known wsht hbyt of the Eighteenth Dynasty can not be identified ⁴⁰ although one text, on a private statue from the temple of Medamud, indicates something of the nature of the court involved. The inscription states that the statue was to be set up in the wsht hbyt "so it might soak up the water sprinkled on the altars which are in the wsht." ⁴¹ It is not possible to reconstruct this temple, of which only architectural fragments were found ⁴² and the statue was not in situ. ⁴³ The description given, however, shows that the term wsht hbyt could be abbreviated to wsht and that the court could contain, not only altars on which offerings were made, but also private statues which could benefit from the reversion of offerings.

In the Nineteenth Dynasty the court of Ramesses II in the temple of Luxor was called a wsht hbyt ⁴⁴ and in the Twentieth Dynasty an inscription on the top of the second pylon of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu has been understood to refer to the second court of the temple as a wsht hbyt. ⁴⁵

The forecourt of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak was described, by Herihor, as a wsht hbyt⁴⁶ and so was the present day forecourt of the temple of Amun. The latter reference occurs on a stela of Sheshonq I from Silsila where the quarries were reopened to provide stone for building work at Karnak, including a wsht hbyt which was to be surrounded by statues and a colonnade (wjdyt q.v.).⁴⁷

The Twenty-Fifth Dynasty temple of Re-Horakhty beside the sacred lake at Karnak contained a wsht hbyt which can not, now, be identified.⁴⁸ In the Ptolemaic period, as is true of so many words, the meaning of wsht hbyt was extended to include a hypostyle hall,⁴⁹ although, in the temple of Philae, it was still used for a colonnaded court.⁵⁰

From this evidence it can be seen that the wsht hbyt of a dynastic temple was the colonnaded court situated immediately behind the pylon. The name primarily describes the function of this particular temple wsht as a place in which offerings were made and to which certain members of the public could be admitted for festivals. However, the fact that this court was made accessible to citizens other than the priesthood ensured that the wsht hbyt was always the first hall of the temple.⁵¹ It clearly could not be situated towards the rear of the temple to which access could only be gained by means of the more sacred halls to which only the priests were admitted. Consequently, although the term wsht hbyt does not in itself describe the physical appearance of the court, it came to be used solely for the colonnaded forecourt. The change of meaning in the Ptolemaic period may reflect a change in the temple ritual, or may be a case of the loose application of a once specific term.


It remains to be decided, on the basis of the evidence presented above, exactly which hall in the temple of Amun is the oft-referred to wsht hbyt in the reign of Hatshepsut.

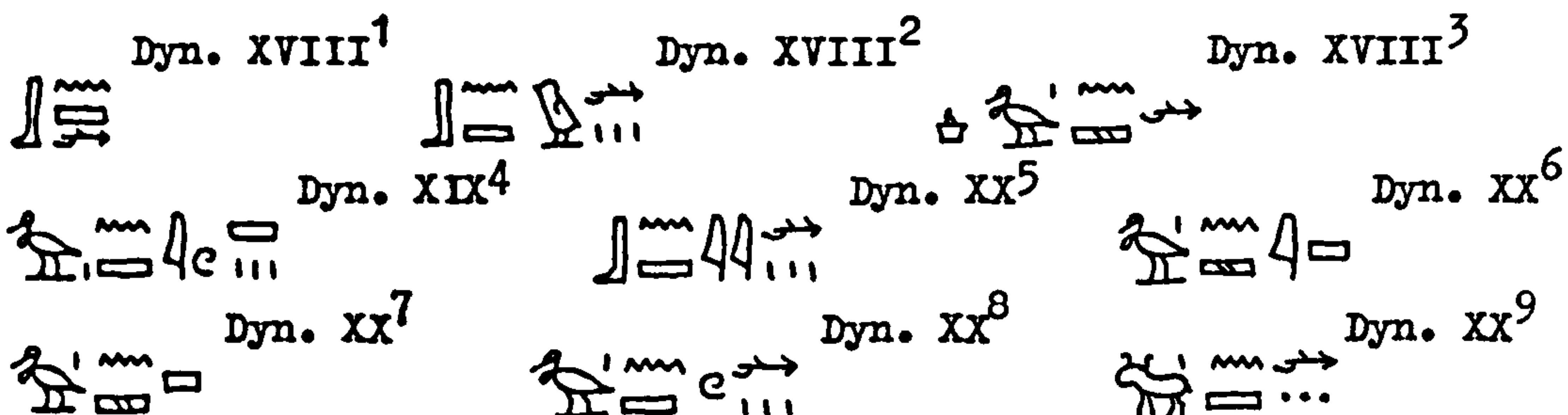
At the time of the return of the Punt expedition⁵² when the produce was weighed and offered to Amun in the wsht hbyt, the temple was basically that erected by Tuthmosis I so the wsht hbyt could have been either the hypostyle hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons or the large open court surrounded by colonnades and statues behind the Fifth Pylon.⁵³ The latter fulfills the usual plan of a wsht hbyt, an open colonnaded court but it must be remembered that the term was used for such a court because, in later temples, the forecourt was

the first hall to which the public could be easily admitted. Since the primary requisite of a wsht hbyt was its accessibility, it is more likely that the wsht hbyt of the reign of Hatshepsut was the hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons which, before the erection of the queen's obelisks and the addition of further columns by Tuthmosis III, presented a much more open aspect than it does today.⁵⁴

- 1 Petrie, Abydos, I, pl.LVI. This writing is the result of replacing the column fragment on the left of pl.LVI in the lowest break in the column on the right, as was suggested by Barguet (Temple, 309, note 2).
- 2 Jéquier, L'Architecture, I, pl.25, 4. See also Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 192, §277, note (1).
- 3 Ibid., 192.
- 4 Urk., IV, 340, 1.
- 5 Ibid., 346, 15.
- 6 Ibid., 429, 10.
- 7 Caminos, The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen, I, pl.79 (Urk., IV, 819, 2).
- 8 Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.193, 6; Urk., IV, 1483, 10 (without the determinative).
- 9 Ibid., 1295, 13.
- 10 Ibid., 1295, 14.
- 11 Ibid., 1361, 6.
- 12 Davies N[orman] de G, El-Amarna, III, pl.XIX.
- 13 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6).
- 14 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, V, pl.356D.
- 15 LD, III, 244a. The cartouches contain the titles of Herihor.
- 16 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 16 (ref.60, 13).
- 17 Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl.XIII, 47.
- 18 Drioton, ASAE 29 (1929), 2.
- 19 LD, IV, 39b.
- 20 De Morgan et al., Kom Ombos, I, 337, 460.
- 21 Chassinat, Edfou, II, 11, 13.
- 22 For wsht n bnr, wsht mš' and wsht h'yt see wsht p. 97.
- 23 Wb., I, 366, 10.
- 24 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 167 (under entry for hbyt "festival offerings").

- 25 Barguet, op. cit., 310, note 1.
- 26 Ibid., 309-310. For another discussion of the wsht hbyt see; Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in Ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches, 106ff.
- 27 Petrie, loc. cit..
- 28 Urk., IV, 346, 15; 429, 10.
- 29 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 192 (For a photograph of one of these blocks see; Jéquier, loc. cit.).
- 30 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 197.
- 31 Urk., IV, 1331, 11.
- 32 For further references to this wsht hbyt see; Ibid., 340, 1 (where Hatshepsut is described as "glittering as do the stars in the wsht hbyt". This would seem to provide evidence that the wsht hbyt was an open court from which the stars would have been visible but since Egyptian ceilings were painted with a star-design the possibility that the sb3w in question were painted motifs can not be ruled out) and Ibid., 437, 14 (where wsht hbyt has been restored from 𓂏'///).
- 33 Caminos, The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen, I, pl.79 (also Urk., IV, 819, 2).
- 34 Caminos, op. cit., 66.
- 35 Ibid., 12.
- 36 Urk., IV, 1295, 13.
- 37 Barguet and Dewachter, Le Temple d'Amada, II, pl.I.
- 38 Urk., IV, 1295, 14.
- 39 Ibid., 1361, 6.
- 40 Naville, loc. cit.; Davies, loc. cit. (presumably a court in the great Aten temple at Akhetaten); Urk., IV, 2124, 4 (a wsht hbyt built by Horemheb in the temple of Ptah at Memphis). One more example of an Eighteenth Dynasty wsht hbyt which was quoted by both Barguet, (op. cit., 309, note 2) and Arnold (op. cit., 107, note 5) is the result of an incorrect restoration by Moret (Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith, 121) of the first sign of the noun nḥbwt (q.v.).
- 41 Urk., IV, 1483, 10.
- 42 Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Medamoud, (1926), 107-110.
- 43 Ibid., 108-109.
- 44 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6).

- 45 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit.. See also Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, III, 8 and note 24.
- 46 LD, III, 244a; Wb., Belegstellen, III, 16 (ref.60, 13).
- 47 Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl.XIII, 47.
- 48 Drioton, loc. cit.. Wsht hbyt was taken by PM., II, 219 to be the name of this temple. In view of the fact that, elsewhere, wsht hbyt is always a court within a temple, this is unlikely to be correct.
- 49 Chassinat, loc. cit.; De Morgan, loc. cit..
- 50 LD, IV, 39b.
- 51 The exception being the second court of the temple of Medinet Habu see note 45.
- 52 In year 9 of Hatshepsut (Urk., IV, 349, 10).
- 53 Borchardt, Baugeschichte, 9, abb.7. The work which Hatshepsut herself executed at Karnak, including the erection of the obelisks, took place after the return of the Punt expedition (Urk., IV, 367, 4-5; Borchardt, op. cit., 20).
- 54 See now, however, Letellier in Hommages à Serge Sauneron, I, 69; pl.XI, A, where a text from a limestone building of Tuthmosis II is published. The damaged inscription relates that Tuthmosis II made, for Amun, a  in inr hd nfr n 'nw. Letellier reconstructs the damaged signs to read wsht hbyt, which is undoubtedly correct. She suggests (Ibid., 70-71) that this structure stood in front of the Fourth Pylon at Karnak and was later refurbished with the sandstone blocks of Tuthmosis IV which were recovered from the fill of the Third Pylon. If this suggestion for the situation of the wsht hbyt is correct, then it would have occupied a similar position, within the temple, to other courts of the same name. This court of Tuthmosis II is, therefore, likely to be the one to which references are made in texts of the reign of Hatshepsut.

bnš

This is the only word noted by the Wörterbuch with the stem bnš¹⁰ so it is not possible to relate it, etymologically, to any other term. Bnš did not survive into either demotic or Coptic (however see further below) and so would appear to have had a very brief existence as it is known only from texts of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

This term has been discussed by Gardiner¹¹ who assessed all the evidence and concluded that bnš was a "door-jamb" or "door-post"; a conclusion with which it is not possible to disagree. However it is valuable to restate the evidence for this since bnš is so rare a word.

It first occurs in the Book of the Dead in the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the closing section of Chapter 125 the deceased is barred from entering the wsht m3'tyw by the bnšw.n sb3:pn until he tells them their names. The same procedure is repeated with the 'ryt and then the door-fastenings.¹² Bnš and 'ryt are also linked on an ostrakon which lists workmen engaged on a building project, two groups are described as nty hr p3 bnš and two as nty m tz'ryt.¹³ In a papyrus now in Turin a stone-worker is given as employed on n3w bnšw in the hwt-ntr of Ramesses II.¹⁴

Bnš is also used in conjunction with 'ryt on the verso of the papyrus with the tomb-plan of Ramesses IV on the recto. The identity of the tomb on the verso has not been firmly established; it may be that of Ramesses V which was usurped by Ramesses VI¹⁵ or that of Ramesses IX.¹⁶ From the measurements quoted for the bnšw¹⁷ Gardiner concluded that it referred to the "door-jamb". The measurements of the bnš are given as wmt (reveal or thickness), hy (height) and hr (face), all of which combined can only refer to the jamb.



Such an interpretation is also supported by the use of bnš in the story of the Two Brothers in which a bull is sacrificed and two drops

of blood fall beside the two bnšw of His Majesty which are on the two sides of the great tri (q.v.) of Pharaoh.¹⁸

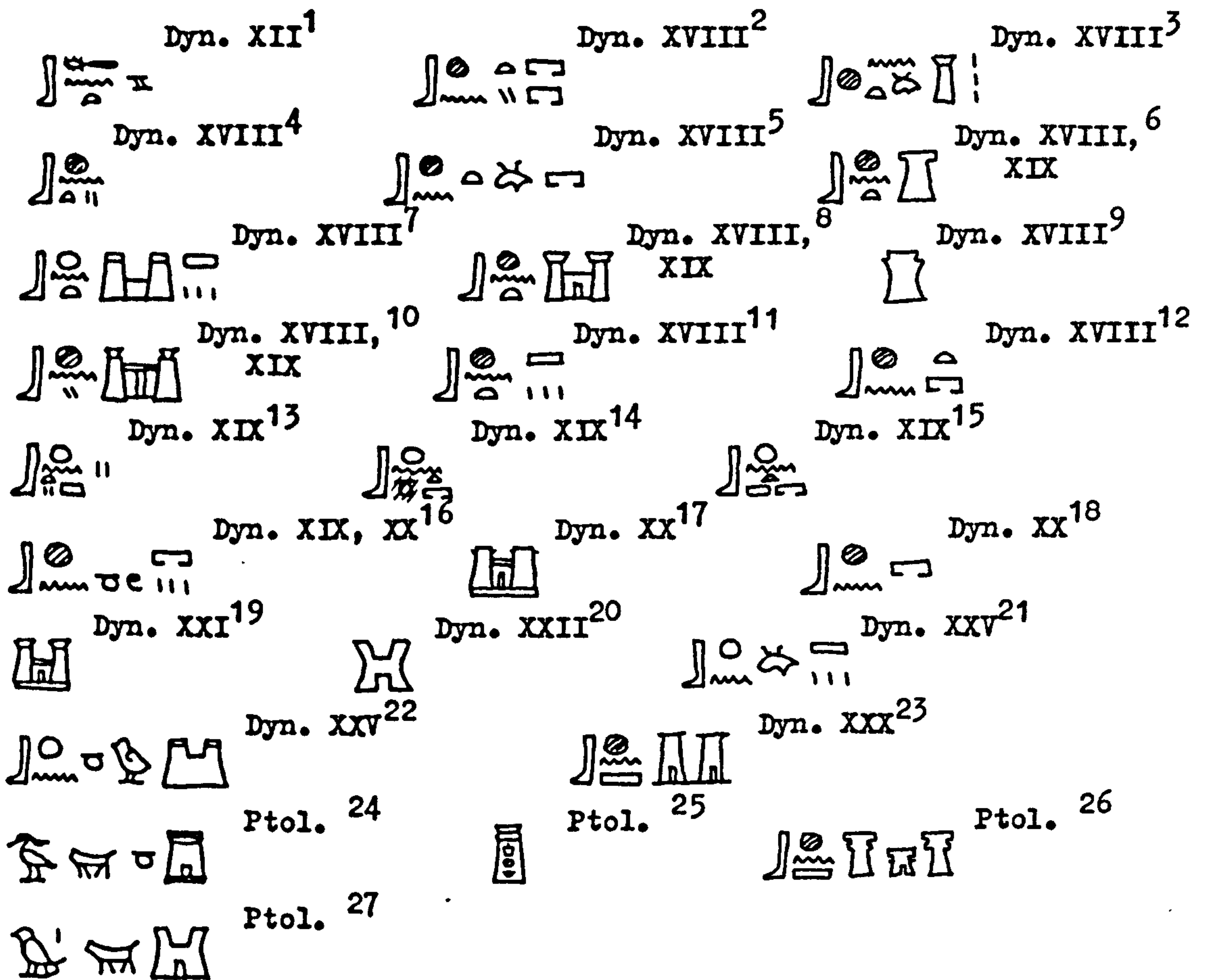
This amount of evidence that bnš was used to describe a door-jamb refutes the suggestion of Drioton¹⁹ that bnš was the ancestor of the Coptic noun λωβυ "crown", "coping" or "battlement".²⁰ This etymology is followed by Westendorf²¹ but not by Černý²² who prefers to derive λωβυ from the Semitic stem lbs "to clothe" "arm", in Arabic "to make a stockade, bulwark of reeds". Drioton's suggestion that bnš be translated by "fronton" is hardly commensurate with the facts known from the Ramesside tomb-plan papyrus and the story of the Two Brothers. The former gives the measurements of a tall vertical object while the latter shows that the bnšw were based on the ground on either side of the door.

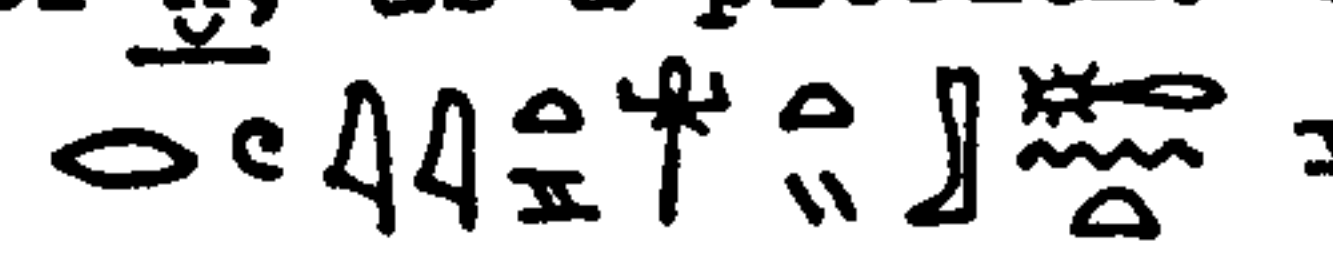
One final mention of bnš occurs in a love-song of the Twentieth Dynasty where a young man, who finds the door to his lover's house closed, decides to offer various animals to parts of the door so that they will admit him. This includes a stout goose to the bnšw.²³

There can be no doubt, in view of this evidence, that bnš does mean "door-jamb".

- 1 Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.138 (Chap.125, 29).
- 2 Budge, The Book of the Dead (1898), 264, 4.
- 3 Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.XVII, 1, 11 and 12.
- 4 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 127, 13.
- 5 Id., Chester Beatty I, pl.XVII, 10.
- 6 Carter and Gardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 148, (5), (6) and (7).
- 7 Ibid., 146, (3); 147, (4).
- 8 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 26, 12 (emended to  from , see Ibid., 26a, note 16, 9, d.
- 9 Naville, op. cit., II, 326 (Chap.125, 29, T.f).
- 10 Wb., I, 464, 3; See also Faulkner, Con. Dict., 83.
- 11 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 146-147.
- 12 Budge, loc. cit.; Naville, op. cit., II, 326.
- 13 Černý and Gardiner, op. cit., pl.XVII, 1, 11 and 12 (bnš); 1, 13 and 14 ('ryt); Also Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 146.
- 14 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 127, 13.
- 15 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 158; PM., I, part 2, 511-517; plan on 510, (9).

- 16 Carter and Gardiner, loc. cit.; PM., I, part 2, 501-505, plan on 498, (6).
- 17 Carter and Gardiner, op. cit., 146, (3); 147, (4); 148, (5), (6) and (7).
- 18 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 26, 12.
- 19 Drioton, BIFAO 26 (1926), 15-19.
- 20 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 138a.
- 21 Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 76.
- 22 Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 70.
- 23 Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl.XVII, 10.

bhnt

The first point to note about bhnt, the meaning of which is not open to doubt, is that it may have existed prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty, the earliest date given for its use by the Wörterbuch.²⁸ The Twelfth Dynasty writing quoted above occurs twice in Papyrus Reisner III. Unfortunately the contexts are not clear and so it is not possible to state for certain that these two occurrences are writings of the later word bhnt. Simpson²⁹ is of the opinion that these are for bhnt and does not see the use of h instead of h, as a problem. One of the examples in this papyrus refers to the  ³⁰ which Simpson takes to be a writing of rwt ibty bhnt, "the eastern gateway of the pylon".³¹

As will be shown below, however, rwt does not mean "gateway"³² while rwt, which does, is not usually spelled in this way.³³ This may be a writing of the rare word rwt which describes a smaller architectural element, possibly a lintel.³⁴ The main doubt, however, is concerned with the writing bhnt which would be the earliest known

example of the Egyptian name for a pylon. It would be inadvisable to dismiss this on the grounds that all other examples of the word are of the New Kingdom and later since an earlier writing of wb3, once also thought not to have existed prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty, has now been recognised.³⁵ The archaeological evidence would suggest that there were pylons in temples, certainly in the Middle Kingdom³⁶ and possibly in the Old Kingdom.³⁷ Few early pylons have survived because they would have been made of mud-brick with only their doorways in stone. This practice continued in the Theban mortuary temples up to, and including, the pylon of the temple of Seti I at Gurna. Since bhnt was the regular term for a pylon and since pylons seem to have existed in the Middle Kingdom, it would not be surprising to find a Twelfth Dynasty writing of the word. However in view of the fact that the writings in Papyrus Reisner III are bhnt, not bhnt, and having regard to the unclear contexts in which the word is used, it would be best to treat these occurrences as possible, rather than certain, writings of bhnt.

Etymologically bhnt is derived from a verbal stem "to be vigilant"³⁸ and is related to similar expressions in Hebrew.³⁹ It can easily be seen how a tower or tower-like structure such as a temple pylon acquired a name based on such a verb. A similar name, bhn, was used from the New Kingdom for a large estate⁴⁰ and the two words can look very like each other.⁴¹ Usually the context can be used to distinguish one from the other. Neither of the two terms seems to have survived into Coptic, which is hardly surprising in the case of bhnt, while in demotic texts the two words seem to be indistinguishable.⁴²

The meaning of bhnt is not open to question. From at least the Eighteenth Dynasty, and possibly earlier, bhnt was the usual term for the monumental pylon which was such a characteristic and distinctive feature of the Egyptian temple.

The word is found in the singular, dual and plural; all three forms being used to describe one pylon. The reason for this has been described by Caminos as, "the duality inherent in a two-towered structure."⁴³ However in some cases where the dual or plural has been used more than one pylon was intended. This is so with the two pylons erected by Tuthmosis I at Karnak, Pylons 4 and 5. When Hatshepsut built her obelisks in the hall between these pylons she described them as being "between the bhnty wrty of..... Aakheperkare"⁴⁴ while the biography

of Ineni, which details the work of Tuthmosis I at Karnak, uses the plural form bhnwt for the two pylons.⁴⁵ Similarly the use of the dual bhnty wrty⁴⁶ in a dedication inscription of Rameses II at his temple at Abydos probably reflects the fact that the temple originally had two pylons,⁴⁷ while the pylons of the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu⁴⁸ are described as bhnw<t>.⁴⁹ More usually, however, bhnt in either the dual or the plural refers to one pylon alone. The dual form is used for the Sixth Pylon at Karnak⁵⁰ the pylon of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes⁵¹ and the model pylon of Seti I,⁵² while the plural form is found describing the following pylons; those of the temple of Amenhotep III at Soleb,⁵³ the temple of Seti I at Abydos,⁵⁴ the Khonsu temple at Karnak,⁵⁵ the temple of Taharqa at Kawa⁵⁶ and the First Pylon of the Amun temple at Karnak.⁵⁷ Whenever bhnt is found in the dual or the plural the text must be compared with the plan of the temple to which it refers in order to decide whether one or more pylons is intended.




The Wörterbuch gives a secondary meaning for bhnt; "Auch von einem einfachen Tor (in einer Mauer)"⁵⁸ for which the Belegstellen gives only two references. The first of these is an unpublished text from Karnak⁵⁹ which I have taken to equal a text of Rameses IX describing as a bhn<t>⁶⁰ the gate which he erected in the southern wall between the Third and Fourth Pylons of the Amun temple.⁶¹ The doorway is itself labelled as a sb3 '3,⁶² which is the usual term for a large temple door in the New Kingdom.⁶³ This can only be interpreted as hyperbole since Rameses IX also built the adjoining stone walls, leaving no room for any kind of pylon to be erected on either side of the gateway.⁶⁴ The second reference given by the Belegstellen is in a Ptolemaic text from one of the crypts of the Hathor temple at Dendera.⁶⁵

These two examples do not provide a firm basis for the assumption that bhnt developed a secondary meaning. They are more likely to be cases either of hyperbole or simple misuse of the term, since bhnt is one word which retained its original, and quite specific, meaning throughout dynastic Egypt until the Ptolemaic period.

1 Simpson, Papyrus Reisner III, pls.10A, E32; (omitting x) 17A, J34.

2 Urk., IV, 365, 4; 738, 1.

3 Ibid., 56, 1.


- 4 Urk., IV, 940, 12.
- 5 Ibid., 167, 15.
- 6 Ibid., 1295, 13 and 14; similar KRI, I, 47, 12.
- 7 LD, III, 89; Urk., IV, 1750, 13.
- 8 Ibid., 1654, 11; KRI, II, 38, 1 and 2 (restored).
- 9 Pillet, ASAE 25 (1925), 9.
- 10 Urk., IV, 1650, 4; similar Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.3, 4.
- 11 Urk., IV, 1650, 18.
- 12 Ibid., 1823, 1.
- 13 Badawy, Miscellanea Wilbouriana, I, 5, fig.5.
- 14 Abd el-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 151, 2. The damaged sign is reproduced in the publication as  but, from comparison with other writings it is probably the pot  which is intended. The other alternative would be the sign  as in No.15.
- 15 Ibid., 151, 5.
- 16 KRI, II, 38, 4; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 134, 2; Janssen, Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs, 61, 9.
- 17 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, V, pl.355, B.
- 18 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 9; 50, 14-15; Barguet, Temple, 84; Janssen, op. cit., 60, 23 and 25; Gardiner, The Wilbour Papyrus, I, pls.20A, A44, 29; 30A, A63, 13; 30A, A64, 20; 32A, A67, 19; 32A, A68, 13; 69A, B22, 14.
- 19 LD, III, 248, h and i; 251, a and b.
- 20 Caminos, JEA 38 (1952), pl.XIII, 46.
- 21 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pls.8, 24; 12, 17.
- 22 Ibid., pl.14, 4.
- 23 Abd el-Razik, MDAIK, 23 (1968), 159 (in plural); Id., MDAIK 34 (1978), 114.
- 24 Chassinat, Le Temple de Dendara, VI, 6, 7.
- 25 Id., Edfou, V, 311, 12.
- 26 Petrie, Koptos, pl.XX, 20; (with one tower only) XX, 19.
- 27 Chassinat, op. cit., V, 4, 2.
- 28 Wb., I, 471, 9-11.
- 29 Simpson, op. cit., 38, note 6.
- 30 Ibid., pl.10A, E32.
- 31 Ibid., 38.
- 32 See below p. 151ff.

- 33 See below p. 143.
- 34 See below p. 149, n. 36.
- 35 James, The Hekanakhte Papers, pl. 12A, verso, 3. See also above p. 66-67.
- 36 The earliest certain pylon would seem to be that of the chapel of king Sankhkare on the western cliffs at Thebes. (For photographs of this see Petrie, Qurneh, pls. V and VI; for a description of the pylon see Hölscher, The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II, 4-5, fig. 2) There were also brick pylon-towers on either side of the Middle Kingdom gateway in the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis (Bittel and Hermann, MDAIK 5 (1934), 24-25) and other brick pylons, which have since been completely destroyed, must once have existed.
- 37 The evidence for pylons prior to the Middle Kingdom is less conclusive. A pylon is thought to have existed in the "temple primitif" at Medamud but is not described in detail in the publication (Robichon and Varille, Description sommaire du Temple primitif de Medamoud, Plan.) A Fifth Dynasty pylon has been restored, in plan, by Von Bissing at the solar temple of Niuserre (Von Bissing, Das Reich Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re, I, 8-10; 19-24) while a precursor of the pylon was seen in the structures at the corners of the same king's funerary complex at Abusir (Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re, 97).
- 38 Ösing, Nominalbildung, 258; 832-833, note 1116. See also Sethe, Die Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Ägypter und ihre Namen, 903ff.
- 39 Wb., I, 471; Gardiner, Onom., II, 204*-205*.
- 40 Wb., I, 471, 6-7.
- 41 Compare, for example, Erichsen, op. cit., 4, 9 (bhnw<t>) with Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 110, 11 (bhn).
- 42 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 121.
- 43 Caminos, op. cit., 56.
- 44 Urk., IV, 365, 4.
- 45 Urk., IV, 56, 1.
- 46 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl. 3, 4.
- 47 PM, VI, 32.
- 48 PM, II, pl. XLIII.
- 49 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 9.
- 50 Urk., IV, 940, 12. Another description of the same pylon (Urk., IV, 167, 15) uses the singular form.

- 51 Urk., IV, 1650, 4. As Caminos (loc. cit.) noted, the dual noun is here followed by the plural adjective '3w.
- 52 Badawy, loc. cit..
- 53 Urk., IV, 1750, 13. The inscription is from one of a number of granite rams found at Gebel Barkal but originally intended for the temple at Soleb to which the texts refer (PM, VII, 216; Reisner, ZAS 66 (1931), 81, 6-10. For a plan of Soleb temple see PM, VII, 168).
- 54 KRI, I, 47, 12. The temple of Seti I, as it now stands, has only one pylon which was erected by Rameses II (PM, VI, 1-2). It is, however, possible that it was originally intended to build two pylons as was done at the nearby temple of Rameses II (Ibid., 32).
- 55 LD, III, 248, h and i.
- 56 Macadam, op. cit., pl.8, 24. For a plan of the temple see; ibid., II, pl.12.
- 57 Caminos, op. cit., pl.XIII, 46.
- 58 Wb., I, 471, 11.
- 59 Wb., Belegstellen, I, 77 (ref.471, 11), Karn. <784>^{D.20}.
- 60 Barguet, op. cit., 84.
- 61 PM, II, pl.X.
- 62 Barguet, op. cit., 273.
- 63 See sb3 p. 221.
- 64 PM, II, 75-76.
- 65 Quoted by the Belegstellen as; Mariette, Denderah, III, p.47, ab, 10, but this has now been published by Chassinat, Le Temple de Dendera, VI, 6, 7.

pr

There are no true variants of pr which was always written with either the ideogram alone or with the ideogram and a stroke.² The latter is the more frequent writing, occurring from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period, while the writing without the stroke is found only infrequently for pr alone, although it was employed in compounds of pr from the Archaic period onwards.³

Since the sign, , had the phonetic value of pr it was used in other words of the same stem⁴ and also served as a general determinative for a building or place.⁵ The pronunciation of pr is indicated in the Sign Papyrus from Tanis, which dates from the Roman period and gives the reading as p3.⁶ In Coptic pr survives in words such as ⲭⲉⲛⲉⲡⲱⲣ from a hypothetical *d3d3 n pr⁷ and ⲡⲉⲣⲓⲡⲉⲣⲟⲓ from pryt pr-ⲥ3,⁸ although there is no direct descendant of pr which meant "house" in Coptic, as the common noun ⲙⲓ⁹ is from the Egyptian ⲥt.¹⁰ At one time it was believed that ⲙⲓ originated in pr but this theory has been rejected in favour of ⲥt which, to some extent, fulfils the same role as pr in the later dynasties.

The basic meaning of pr given by the Wörterbuch¹¹ is "house". The dictionary then goes on to list the various uses of pr,¹² many of which are outside the scope of this study. Since pr can usually be translated as "house" the sign itself has been interpreted as a representation of a house.¹³ However, in a series of letters to Lefebvre which were later published, Loret¹⁴ has suggested that the sign represented an enclosure with an entrance rather than a domestic house as we would understand the term today. He points out that for the semi-nomadic pre-dynastic Egyptians, amongst whom the language evolved, the word pr would describe temporary structures which were erected at night as protection against the weather and predators. These people would have had no need for permanent dwellings and the earliest known settlement in Egypt consisted only of unroofed shelters.¹⁵ Loret also suggested that the pr-enclosure could have contained other kinds of buildings, beside houses, and this would explain the use of pr in compounds such as pr-hd, which would have been used originally to describe an enclosure which contained storehouses. Later such expressions came to be used of administrative departments, and they are not included in this work since the extent to which they referred to actual buildings, rather than to the administrative body concerned

is open to doubt. Examples of these compounds are numerous, occurring from the Archaic period.¹⁶

In the biographical inscriptions of the Old Kingdom pr is used to describe the large estates of high officials and, although to a poor man pr undoubtedly denoted his own small dwelling, to a wealthy man a pr was something much more grandiose. The earliest extant description of a pr dates to the reign of Sesostris when Metjen built a pr which was 200 cubits in length and 200 cubits in width.¹⁷ The size of this pr, added to the fact that the text continues to say that the pr contained a lake and orchards,¹⁸ proves that this pr was an estate rather than a house.

Similarly Harkhuf, in the Sixth Dynasty, describes building a pr, erecting 3-columns, digging a lake and planting trees.¹⁹ The same inscription tells how Harkhuf, on his way home to Egypt from the South, came from the neighbourhood of the pr of the ruler of Setju and Irtjet²⁰ which must have been the estate of this Nubian chief.

Another indication that, in the Old Kingdom, pr meant "estate" comes from a text from Giza in which a man describes how he was left in charge of all the possessions (ist) of his brother, during which time "the property (ht) increased more in his pr than (in) the pr of any noble."²¹ Another Old Kingdom inscription from Giza records the sale of a pr,²² while a similar sale is mentioned in the Hekanakhte letters.²³

The natural development of the term resulted in its being used for an "estate" in its widest sense, the land and property owned by one man or administrative department. This is illustrated in the contracts which Hapdjefa made with the priesthood of the temple of Wepwawet at Siut. He stipulated that the offerings were to come from the property of the pr of his father and not from the pr of the nomarch.²⁴ Presumably the nomarch was not permitted to use the property of the official estate for his own benefit and had to pass it on, intact, to the next holder of the office.

Egyptian texts often mention the "founding of a pr" (grg pr) which is taken by the Wörterbuch to be a synonym for "to marry"²⁵ and seems to indicate that a young man would leave the family home and establish his own pr. The maxims of Ptahhotep show that this was regarded as the right and responsible thing for a man to do,²⁶ while

Ahmose, son of Ebana, tells how he joined the navy after he had founded his pr.²⁷

Although pr was used often for an "estate" it also retained its original meaning of "house". By the New Kingdom t,²⁸ the ancestor of the Coptic ⲙⲓ,²⁹ had begun to be used with the same meaning.³⁰ However the more conservative vocabulary of the literary texts preserved the use of pr for "house".

In the Story of the Two Brothers, when Anpu returned to his pr, he found that the fire had not been lit and that the pr was in darkness.³¹ This can only be referring to the actual house-building and the same must be true, in the story of the Doomed Prince, of the pr which the ruler of Naharain built to keep his daughter isolated, as it is described as having only one window which was 70 cubits from the ground.³²

There are also some examples of pr being used in preference to t in non-literary texts of the same and later periods³³ and pr is also found in demotic texts.³⁴

It can, therefore, be seen that at all periods pr was used of a "house". This usage was not, however, confined to the actual house-building but, even by the Old Kingdom, it could be extended to include an entire estate. It was logical that the house of the king, the palace, should have been described as pr-nsw³⁵ and this term also, like the simple pr, came to be used of an estate from which produce could be issued.³⁶

The differences between pr-nsw and other terms which are usually translated as "palace" such as h,³⁷ stp-s3,³⁸ and pr-3³⁹ could only be elucidated after a detailed study which is not relevant to this work. The distinctions could well be based on their respective administrative functions rather than on their physical characteristics.

The role of the term, pr, as it related to Egyptian temples is of concern to this study. The fact that pr could be used of a temple as well as of a domestic dwelling, indicates that the term was not restricted in use to one particular building-plan. Although the plan of an Egyptian temple, as the "house of the god" was based on that of a house, the simple house-plan was extended and elaborated to such an extent that the plan of a temple bears no resemblance to the original enclosure depicted in the ideogram.

In the Koptos Decrees of the Old Kingdom the temple of Min at Koptos is referred to variously as r-pr pn "this r-pr",⁴⁰ "the pr of Min"⁴¹ and "the hwt of Min",⁴² while the Decrees of Neferkauhor also use the term hwt-ntr.⁴³ The terms hwt and hwt-ntr describe the function of the temple as a cult-centre,⁴⁴ r-pr indicates that the temple served as an offering-place⁴⁵ while pr reflects the fact that the temple was the actual home of the god. The fact that the decrees were to be set up "at the 'rrwt of the pr of Min"⁴⁶ suggests that pr here is being used of the temple itself and not its administrative estate. However, in the same way that the pr of a private individual could be his "house" or his "estate" a temple pr could be the stone temple itself, in which case the term was being used as a synonym for hwt-ntr, the entire temple complex within the enclosure wall, or the administrative estate. Unfortunately there are many texts in which the context does not allow a decision to be made as to which of these translations would be the most accurate.

There are a few texts which support the view that pr could be used of the stone temple alone. An inscription of Tuthmosis III from the Festival Complex at Karnak gives a speech of the Ennead to the king instructing him to embellish (smnh) the pr of his father Amun-Re in inr hd nfr n 'nw.⁴⁷ The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari is described as a pr⁴⁸ as is the Anubis chapel within the temple.⁴⁹ The temple of Ramesses III within the forecourt of the Amun temple⁵⁰ at Karnak is called "the pr of Usermaare Meriamun in the pr of Amun" and a curious use of the term is found in relation to the temple T of Taharqa at Kawa. The text tells how the king found the temple of Amun built of brick and ordered it to be reconstructed in stone. The inscription continues, "then this hwt-ntr was built in sandstone.... the pr in gold, the columns (wh3w) in gold.....its pylons (bhnw) and its doors (sb3w) inscribed with the Great Name of his Majesty."⁵¹ The sandstone hwt-ntr is clearly the stone temple-building and Macadam has suggested that pr also refers to the main temple because, "minute specks of gold leaf were found adhering to the walls in places".⁵² If this is so, and it is difficult to see to what else pr could refer in such a context, then pr n nw must be in apposition to hwt-ntr m inr hd nfr n rwdt.

Two interesting tomb-scenes show the facades of temples with labels indicating that each was regarded as a pr. One, from the tomb of

Panehsy at Thebes (No.16) shows the frontage of the temple of Amun at Karnak which, in the reign of Ramesses II to which the tomb is dated, was at the second pylon. The text above the representation states that it is the pr of Amun-Re.⁵³ The second example is from the tomb of Amenmose, also at Thebes (No.19), and depicts the facade of a temple dedicated to the deified king Amenhotep I. The legend reads; pr (Imn htp) n p3 wb3 "The pr of Amenhotep of the wb3".⁵⁴ Since the entrance to the temple complex and the entrance to the stone temple would have both been through the pylon which formed the temple facade it is not possible to decide on which of these two interpretations was intended.

There are, however, other texts which show, quite clearly, that pr could be used of the temple temenos, as distinct from the stone building, the hwt-ntr.

A building text of Amenhotep I from Karnak states that the king built his (Amun's) pr and embellished (smnh) his hwt-ntr,⁵⁵ while texts of the reign of Hatshepsut describe how trees, brought back to Egypt by the Punt expedition, were planted on both sides of the hwt-ntr in the pr of Amun.⁵⁶ The distinction between the pr and the hwt-ntr is also well exemplified in the stela of Pianchi. After the conquest of each major cult-centre, the king went to the pr of the god where, after purification rituals in the pr-dw3, he entered the hwt-ntr to make offerings.⁵⁷

In the New Kingdom in particular, however, the pr of a god was the designation of his administrative estate, so that a temple which was described as being within the pr of a particular god was administratively subordinate to the main temple of the god in question. In this way the royal mortuary temples on the West Bank at Thebes were often described as "the hwt of kingin the pr of Amun",⁵⁸ indicating that they were under the control of the temple of Amun at Karnak. Obviously the situation of the temples on the opposite bank of the Nile precludes the identification of pr, in this expression, with the temenos of the main temple building.

The same relationship is also found outside of Thebes between the main cult-centre and its dependent temples. For example, at Heliopolis, Ramesses III built a hwt nt hhw m rnpwt to the north of the city, which was regarded as being "in the pr of Re".⁵⁹

It can be seen, therefore, that the simple term, pr, could

have various meanings throughout the dynastic period in Egypt. When used of the dwelling of a private individual, it could refer to the house-building itself and also to the whole of an official's estate. Similarly, when the term was transferred to temple architecture the pr could be the main temple-building, the temenos or the administrative estate. Only a careful examination of each occurrence, comparing the textual evidence with existing temple remains, where these are preserved, can show which interpretation of the term is the most suitable.


- 1 E.g.; Dévaud, Les Maximes de Ptahhotep, 38, verso, 383; Pyr., 292d (Unas); 1189c (Pepi I); Urk., I, 150, 16; Gayet, Stèles de la XII^e Dynastie, pl.LIV, 2; De Buck, Reading Book, 91, 13; Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, 93, 20; Urk., IV, 409, 9; British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, VI, pl.47, 12; Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 14 and 15.
- 2 Examples of this writing of pr are legion, e.g.; Urk., I, 3, 1; 4, 10; 121, 13-14; 125, 8; 163, 11; 216, 11; VII, 1, 15; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 69, (IV, pl.VI); II, 29, (IV, pl.XXXI); Sethe, op. cit., 93, 3, 20; James, The Hekanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents, pl.26, 8; Urk., IV, 3,1; 43, 10; 47, 7; 96, 12; 100, 6; 117, 5; 132, 7; 160, 7; 163, 3; 165, 4; 194, 16; 195, 1; 297, 4; 300, 2; 328, 4; 352, 10; 353, 2; 399, 14; 405, 3; 409, 9; 449, 5; 456, 9; 472, 16; 862, 5; 912, 13; 1064, 15; 1494, 16; 1559, 11; KRI, I, 124, 5, 9 and 10; 202, 8; 203, 13; 206, passim; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 30, 11-31, 1; 48, 15; 49, 2; Id., Late Egyptian Stories, 3, 5 and 12; 7, 10; 9, 12; 10, 4; 13, 13 and 15; 18, 16; 30, 14; 75, 3; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6,5; 10, 14; 12, 6; 34, 8-11; 55, 6; 58, 6-9; 69, 11; Urk., III, 15, 2; 21, 8; 35, 6; 38, 10; 41, 10; 42, 3.
- 3 See; Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, passim; Wb., I, 515-518.
- 4 Ibid., 518-532.
- 5 Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, Sign List, 0.1.
- 6 Griffith and Petrie, Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis, 16 pl.IV, XVI, 1
- 7 Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 316; Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 775a.
- 8 Ibid., 269b; Černý, op. cit., 128.

- 9 Crum, op. cit., 66.
- 10 Černy, op. cit., 41.
- 11 Wb., I, 511.
- 12 Ibid., 511-516.
- 13 Gardiner, loc.cit.,
- 14 Loret in Lefebvre, Kêmi XII (1952), 18ff.
- 15 See, for example, the predynastic shelters at Mahasna; Garstang, Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf, 5-8; pl.IV.
- 16 As note 3.
- 17 Urk., I, 4, 10.
- 18 Ibid., I, 4, 13-14.
- 19 Ibid., I, 121, 13-14.
- 20 Ibid., I, 125, 8.
- 21 Ibid., I, 216, 17.
- 22 Ibid., I, 257, 15.
- 23 James, loc. cit..
- 24 Sethe, op. cit., 93, 20.
- 25 Wb., I, 512, 8.
- 26 Devaud, op. cit., 34 (P. Prisse, 8, 10); 38 (P. Prisse, 10, 8).
- 27 Urk., IV, 3, 1.
- 28 Wb., I, 160, 1-13.
- 29 Černy, op. cit., 41; Crum, op. cit., 66.
- 30 Gardiner, Onom., II, 206*-207*.
- 31 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 13, 13-15.
- 32 Ibid., 3, 5.
- 33 E.g.; Peet, Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.XXXII, B.M. 10052, 11, 18; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 48, 15; 49, 2; Urk., III, 41, 10; 42, 3.
- 34 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 132; Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, III, 228, note 6. See also; Glanville, Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, I, xxxi, note 1.
- 35 Wb., I, 513, 3-5.
- 36 E.g.; Urk., I, 175, 10; 58, 10; 60, 16; 1105, 5-6; 2158, 16;
- 37 Wb., I, 214, 10-21.
- 38 Ibid., IV, 340, 11-13; 341, 1-11.
- 39 Ibid., I, 516, 2-4.
- 40 Urk., I, 281, 1; 282, 2; 283, 15; 285, 10; 286, 5; 292, 2; 294, 12.

- 41 Ibid., I, 280, 18; 282, 6; 283, 2; 283, 8; 284, 6; 285, 16; 286, 3; 287, 7; 292, 9.
- 42 Ibid., 290, 4.
- 43 Ibid., 300, 3; 302, 16; 303, 15.
- 44 See below, hwt p.165ff and hwt-ntr p.177ff.
- 45 See below r-pr p.137ff.
- 46 Urk., I, 286, 3; 292, 9; 299, 16. See further under 'rryt, above p. 47-48.
- 47 Urk., IV, 863, 5. 'Inr hd nfr n 'nw should properly be translated "limestone" but most of the works of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, including the Festival Complex, are of sandstone. See further under hwt-ntr, below p. 182.
- 48 Ibid., IV, 297, 4.
- 49 Ibid., 300, 2.
- 50 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6, 5.
- 51 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl.8, 23 (Insc.IV).
- 52 Ibid., 21, note 52.
- 53 Baud and Drioton, Le Tombeau de Panehsy, 21, fig.10.
- 54 Foucart, Le Tombeau d'Amonmos, pl.28. The owner of the tomb was a priest of Amenhotep of the wb3. For this god and his relationship to the wb3 of Amun see further under wb3, above p. 69-70.
- 55 Urk., IV, 43, 10.
- 56 Ibid., IV, 328, 4; 353, 2.
- 57 Ibid., III, 35, 6; 38, 10. See also under hwt-ntr, below p. 184.
- 58 Examples are numerous, e.g.; LD., III, 152, c; KRI, I, 206, 8; 216, 11; V, 228, 11; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 42; Erichsen, op. cit., 12, 6; 13, 17; Gardiner, The Wilbour Papyrus, IV, 59; 61; Marciniak, Deir El-Bahari, I, 69; pl.LXXXIV; Bruyère, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El-Médineh (1933-1934), 56; Chevrier and Dripton, Le Temple reposoir de Seti II à Karnak, 25-26.
- 59 Erichsen, op. cit., 34, 10.

pr-ḥ3(t)

 Dyn.XI¹

 Dyn.XXV²

The first of the two examples of pr-ḥ3(t) occurs in the Eleventh Dynasty accounts of Hekanakhte, in which five pieces of willow-wood are said to be m pr-ḥ3.³ James has noted that the pr-ḥ3 was the rear part of a house "perhaps even the out-houses".⁴ As has been noted above⁵ the only other location given in the account is for a mast which is in a wb3,⁶ a term which is not elsewhere found outside of a temple-context.

The second example of pr-ḥ3(t) is in the Dream Stela of Tanutamun and refers to a part of the Amun temple at Napata.⁷ Although this can not be firmly identified, the etymology of the term would suggest that it was either the rear part of the temple or a building at the back of the main temple building.

Possibly pr-ḥ3(t) could be used for the rear part of any kind of building or complex. Since the term was in use in both the Eleventh and the Twenty-Fifth Dynasties, it is likely that further examples of the term may come to light, hopefully in contexts from which a more certain identification of the nature of the pr-ḥ3(t) can be made.

1 James, The Hekanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents, pl.12, V, 2.

2 Urk., III, 68, 13.

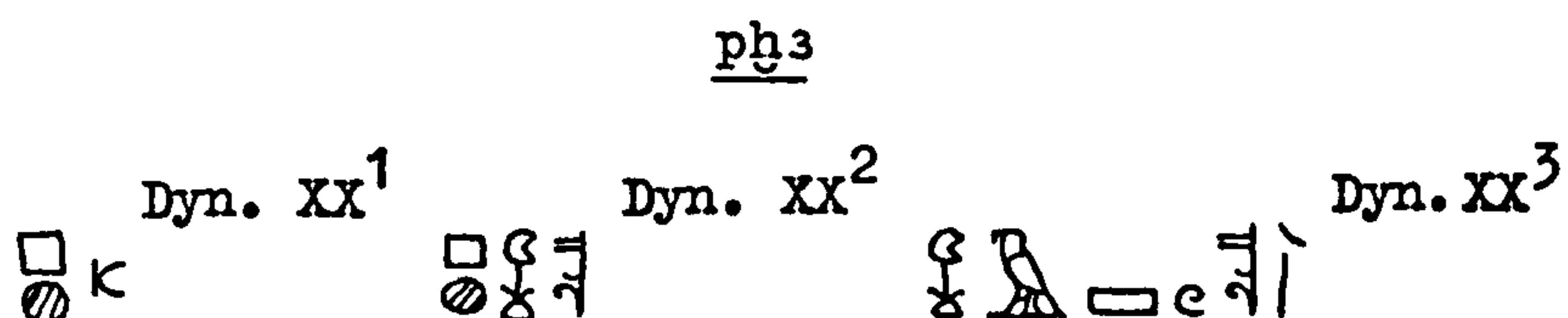
3 James, loc. cit.

4 Ibid., 61.

5 See wb3, p.66-67.

6 James, op. cit., pl.12, V, 3.

7 Urk., III, 68, 13.




This term, known only from three as yet unpublished ostraca, was taken by Helck⁴ to mean "veneer" and the same interpretation has been adopted by Janssen.⁵


In Ost. Berlin 11260 the ph₃ is linked with the door-frame, the htri, in the phrase p₃ htri p₃y.f ph₃ "the htri and its ph₃"⁶ and in Ost. IFAO 704 it occurs in the expression ph₃ n p₃ sb₃ "the ph₃ of the sb₃".⁷

Kemp⁸ has pointed out that door-frames were unlikely to have been veneered and suggests that the ph₃ was, in fact, either the lintel or the threshold of the door. In view of the fact that htri (or htrw in the plural)⁹ seems to have included both jambs and lintel, the ph₃ is most likely to have been the threshold. In Ost. Deir El-Medineh 289 the ph₃ is made of wood¹⁰ and wooden thresholds for doorways have been found at Deir El-Medineh.¹¹

- 1 Unpublished, see Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period, 25; 391.
- 2 Unpublished, see Ibid., 391-392.
- 3 Unpublished, see Ibid., 81-82; 391-392.
- 4 Helck, Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, 888.
- 5 Janssen, op. cit., 391-392.
- 6 Ibid., 391.
- 7 Loc. cit..
- 8 Kemp, JEA 65 (1979), 183.
- 9 See below, htri, p.195ff.
- 10 Janssen, op. cit., 391.
- 11 E.g., Bruyère, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El-Medineh (1928), 37, fig.25.

nhbwt

Dyn. V ¹




Dyn. XVIII ²


There are only two known examples of this word and both are in the plural form, nhbwt. The first writing is from the archives of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare at Abusir and describes the columns of that temple, while the second is in a building inscription of Amenhotep III, referring to the construction of the temple at Luxor.

Nhbwt is related to the word nhbt "flower of the lotus, especially the closed bud."³ (From the Nineteenth Dynasty nhmt⁴ and nhb⁵ were also used of the lotus bud and the flower respectively.) It would thus be reasonable to assume that nhbwt was used to describe lotiform columns, particularly those with closed-bud capitals.


The lotus bud column was very popular in the Old and Middle Kingdoms and recurred in the Ptolemaic period. Columns with an open lotus capital were often depicted in tomb-scenes but few actual examples have been found.⁶

The Fifth Dynasty writing occurs in a context which leaves no doubt that it refers to the thirty-seven columns of the great court of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare, the twelve columns of the "vestibule" and the four columns of the "porch."⁷ Only the bases of these columns remain but Borchardt was able to reconstruct them and prove that they had been wooden lotus bud columns on limestone bases.⁸ So there were, at Abusir, lotiform columns which were described in a contemporary papyrus as nhbwt.

Unfortunately the determinatives of nhbwt are not lotus bud columns⁹ and the hieratic signs used have been transcribed in the publication of the papyri as .¹⁰ This hieroglyph depicts a papyrus plant and was therefore used as an ideogram for a papyriform column but would not have been a suitable determinative for a lotiform column. It is possible that these hieratic signs should be transcribed as , an open lotus flower, which is used as the determinative of nhbt "lotus" in the Pyramid-texts.¹¹

The second writing of nhbwt, the only reference given for this word by the Wörterbuch,¹² is of the Eighteenth Dynasty so that it is impossible to trace the development of nhbwt. This is unfortunate since this later example appears to describe papyriform cluster

earlier periods then no doubt the number of known writings of nḥbwt would have been augmented.

- 1 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.XXXIIA, 11.
- 2 Urk., IV, 1712,2. This text, from the pedestal of the south wall of Luxor temple, has also been published in full by Moret (Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith, 121.) and the part relevant to the columns is quoted by Wallert, (Die Palmen im Alten Agypten, 36.) and the Wörterbuch, (Die Belegstellen, II, 429, ref.294, 4.). Moret restored the missing sign as  and this was followed by Wallert but is almost certainly wrong. The Wörterbuch restored the sign as the nḥ bird (Gardiner, Grammar, Sign-list, G.21) which is supported by the later publication of the Fifth Dynasty text. The surface of the stone upon which the missing sign was inscribed is now completely lost and no trace of the original sign remains. The variety of forms given by the different writers for the determinatives of both wh3w and nḥbwt in this text only serves to emphasize the need for true epigraphic copies. The Wörterbuch Belegstellen gives wrong forms for both determinatives while Wallert has that of wh3w correct but that of nḥbwt wrong. Since there appears to be no published photograph of the text (PM, II, 336.) I checked the original at Luxor. The determinative of wh3w is a palm-column, that of nḥbwt is a papyriform cluster column.
- 3 Wb., II, 294, 2-3.
- 4 Wb., II, 297, 10. Dyn.19 onward.
- 5 Wb., II, 307, 3-8. End of the New Kingdom and Graeco-Roman period.
- 6 Borchardt, Die Aegyptische Pflanzensäule, 3-17.
- 7 Posener-Kriéger, Archives Néferirkarê, II, 435, note y. See also Kaplony, Orientalia 41 (1972), 203, who, for some reason, reads the word as nḥbwt rather than nḥbwt.
- 8 Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-ke3-re', 20-22.
- 9 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XXXII.
- 10 Ibid., pl.XXXIIA, 11.
- 11 Pyr., 1223e. On the other hand it is also possible that nḥbwt acquired the w3d sign as determinative because of the use of w3d to describe the papyriform cluster column which bears a strong resemblance to the lotus bud column. Examples of the former type

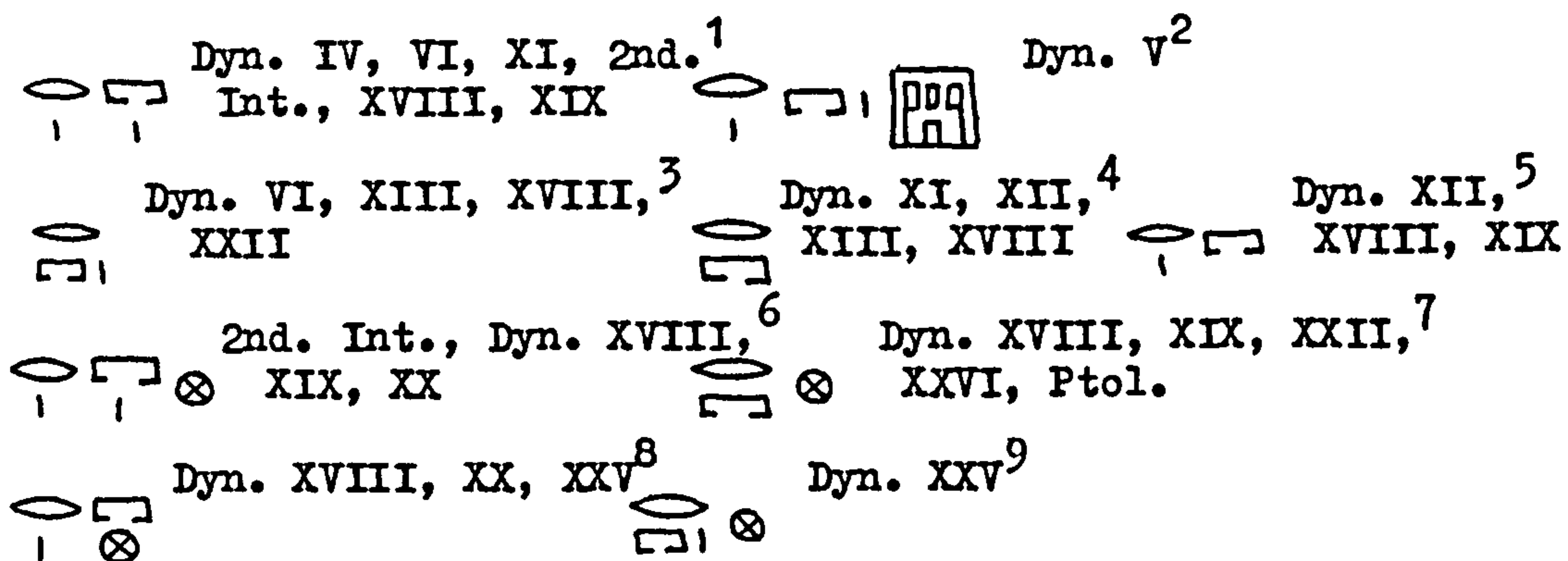
have been found in the mortuary temples of Niuserre and Sahure at Abusir. (Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re¹, II, abb. 5. and Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ashu-re¹, I, 53, abb. 59-61.)

12 Wb., II, 294, 4.

13 Urk., IV, 1712, 2. See footnote 2 above.



14 Compare Borchardt, Die Aegyptische Pflanzensäule, 7, abb. 10, (lotiform) with ibid., 32, abb. 55, (papyriform). This similarity between the two forms led to their being often confused in early works on Egyptian architecture. See, for example, Foucart, Histoire de l'ordre lotiforme, passim, where both forms are treated as one and the same.

15 E.g., KRI, I, 201, 5; 202, 9.

r-pr

The etymology of r-pr has been discussed in some detail by Vergote¹⁰ who concludes that it is not to be understood as "la porte de la maison" but rather as "la porte de sortie", since r-pr was first applied to a false-door in an Old Kingdom tomb, out of which the spirit of the dead man could come to accept the funerary offerings. Gradually the offering-place developed into a niche, then a room within the superstructure of the tomb. The term had, therefore, come to be used of a "chapel" and it was then transferred to other chapels and applied to "temples".

This theory of Vergote's would seem to be an accurate assessment of the development of the use of r-pr. It will, therefore, be necessary here only to present the textual evidence to support this view since Vergote himself, whose article was primarily etymological in intent, omitted to do so.

The evidence for the use of the term for a false-door comes from tombs of the Old Kingdom at Saqqara. In particular a text describing offering-bearers in the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Ti reads "Bringing produce to the  of the "sole courtier" Ti."¹¹ The Sixth Dynasty tomb of Sneferunefer has a similar formula using .¹² In the tomb of Kagemni, formulae have "the chamber (t) of the r-pr",¹³ R-pr is also used of the offering chapel in the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Debhen at Giza. This was lined with limestone.¹⁴ This use of r-pr is not restricted to the tombs of private individuals since a royal funerary chapel, of king Menkauhor, is also called a r-pr.¹⁵

It can be seen, therefore, that, even by the Fourth Dynasty, r-pr could be used of a "chapel" as well as for the false-door, for which the usual term was rwt.¹⁶

R-pr was also being employed, by the Old Kingdom, as a term for a temple and occurs as such in the decrees issued for the benefit of the temple of Min at Koptos. This temple is often referred to as r-pr pn "this r-pr" ¹⁷ and the decree for the Vizier Idu clearly implies ¹⁸ that r-prw were to be regarded as being as important as hwt-ntr (pl.). This text, in which r-pr and hwt-ntr are used side by side, raises the question as to what the difference, if any, is between the two terms.

Gardiner once remarked "that r-pr seems sometimes to imply a temple of secondary rank or a provincial temple". ¹⁹ This view has been rejected by Vandersleyen ²⁰ who considers it to have been founded on fortuitous occurrences. He prefers to regard a r-pr as being a part of a hwt-ntr and cites an example from the Book of the Dead in support of this theory, ỉ Wsỉr ỉnk hm n r-pr.k ỉmy-ỉb n hwt-ntr,k ²¹ which he translates as "O Osiris, je suis le prêtre de ton lieu de culte qui est dans ton enclos sacré." ²² Unfortunately this is based on a wrong translation since ỉmy-ỉb does not mean "which is in" but is a noun "favourite". ²³ The text should, therefore, be translated as, "O Osiris, I am the servant of your r-pr, the favourite of your hwt-ntr", implying a degree of equivalence between the two terms.

This is also suggested by other texts, particularly those in which a specific temple is described as both hwt-ntr and r-pr. This is the case with the temple of Ptah at Karnak which was rebuilt by Tuthmosis III. "Now his majesty found this r-pr in brick.....his majesty ordered that this hwt-ntr be built for him in sandstone". ²⁴ Both the temples of Amada and Elephantine, which were completed by Amenhotep II, are also referred to by both terms. "Now it was his majesty who beautified this hwt-ntr which his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, had made.....in order that the great name of his father, ²⁵ the Son of Re, Tuthmosis, might be established in this r-pr for ever".

There are other temples for which both terms are known to have been used. These include the temple of Osiris at Abydos, ²⁶ the temple of Mut at Karnak, ²⁷ the northern temple at Buhen (in a Nineteenth-Dynasty text), ²⁸ the festival complex of Tuthmosis III at Karnak ²⁹ and the Karnak temple of Amun itself. ³⁰ The fact that the Amun temple, the major state cult-centre in the New Kingdom and in later periods, should have been so often described as a r-pr is a clear indication that a r-pr was in no way inferior in status to a hwt-ntr.

A tomb scene from the tomb of Puyemre at Thebes would seem to suggest that r-prw were in some way regarded as subordinate temples. This shows the weighing of incense in the presence of Puyemre with the descriptive label "Reckoning the incense for the r-prw which are subordinate to (? imyw-ht) the pr of Amun, in the pr-hd of the hwt-ntr." ³¹ Facing the scene are the names of the r-prw which include the pr of Amun itself, the prw of Mut (?), Khonsu, Monthu and Ptah (?) and several royal mortuary temples on the West Bank as well as (possibly) the temple of Luxor. ³² All of these temples would have been under the administrative control of the temple of Amun, which is why they are described as being subordinate to the pr of the god. However, each of these could elsewhere have been called "hwt-ntr" or "hwt" showing that there were no distinctions in either size or function between a r-pr and a hwt-ntr.

This can also be illustrated by a building text of Tuthmosis III from Karnak. "I (the king) pleased him (Amun) by making for him.....
...a hwt-ntr on the east of this r-pr." ³³ In this text the r-pr is the Karnak temple of Amun, while hwt-ntr is, probably, the much smaller "Eastern Temple". ³⁴

Another text shows that a r-pr could even be regarded as "containing" a hwt-ntr. A statue of the official Minnakhte from Koptos describes him as "one who informs every official of their duties in the hwt-ntr of every r-pr." ³⁵

It is unnecessary, therefore, to attempt to distinguish between the two terms. Both were used for a temple to describe, not its physical appearance nor its size, but the fact that it was a cult-centre (hwt-ntr) and a place in which offerings could be made (r-pr). Since both criteria were relevant to every temple in Egypt it follows that any hwt-ntr could be described as a r-pr and vice versa. 36

R-pr often occurs in the plural form as a generic term for "temples" but it seems always to have retained its meaning as an offering-place and the link between a r-pr and offerings is stressed in texts of all periods.

"One who knows the offerings of the r-prw" (Eleventh Dynasty stela of Intef, son of Myt). ³⁷

"Controller of divine offering(s) in the r-prw of the gods of this city" (Twelfth Dynasty title from Beni Hasan). ³⁸

"Usernakhte did whatever all the gods desired, by making laws and

establishing the rule, by building their r-prw, by establishing their divine offerings"(Eighteenth Dynasty stela from Gurna).³⁹

"An offering which the king gives (to) Amun-Re, king of the gods, that he might cause the offerings to be received in his r-pr" (Eighteenth Dynasty statue).⁴⁰










"One who provisions the offering-tables in the r-prw" (Eighteenth Dynasty statue).⁴¹

Describing a former time of anarchy; "They made the gods like the forms of men, offerings were not presented within the r-prw." (Papyrus Harris I).⁴²

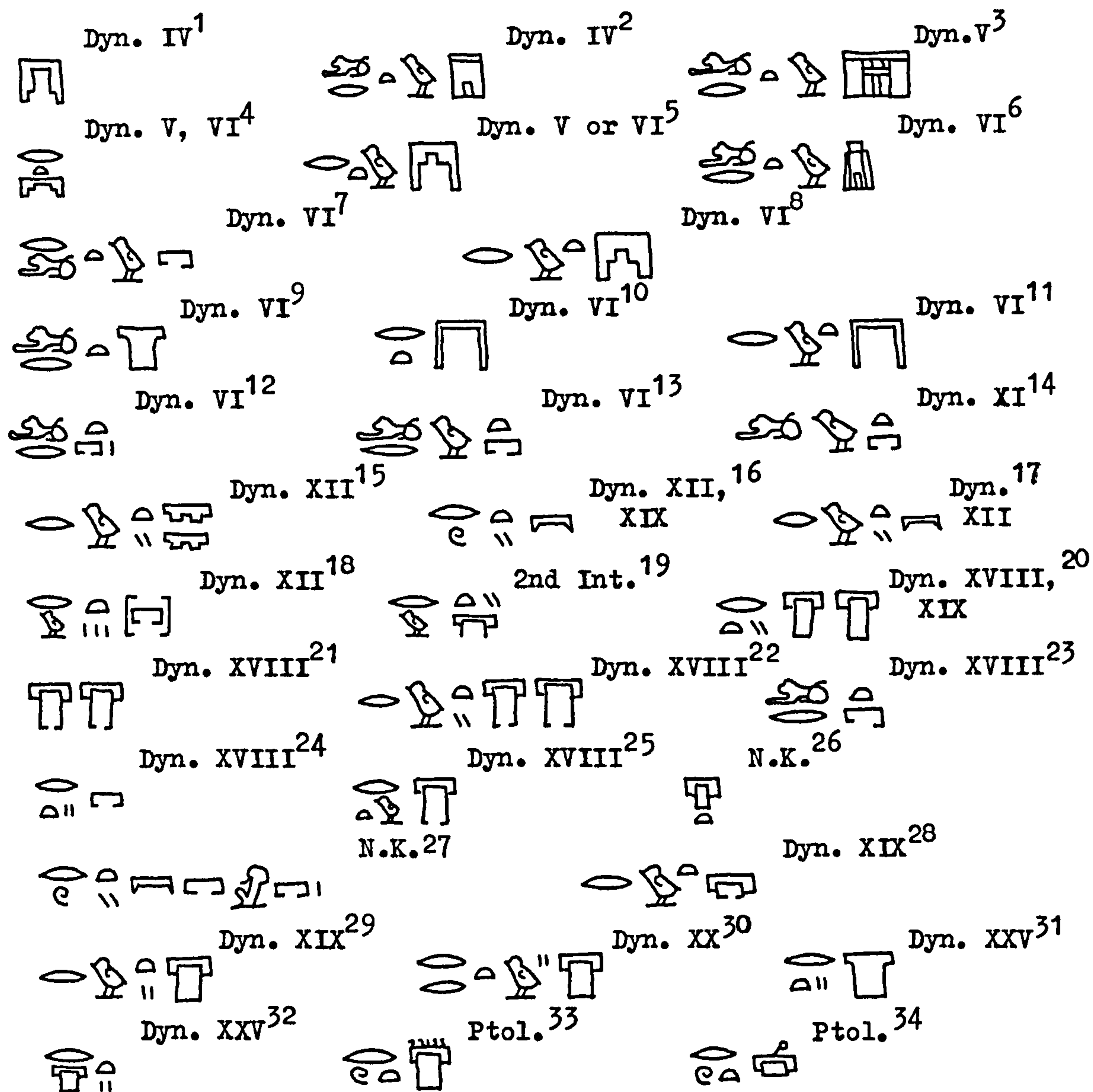
R-pr was originally used for a false-door, then an offering chapel and, by extension, any place in which offerings could be made. It could, therefore, be applied, quite accurately, to any temple with the result that one building could be described, legitimately, as both a hwt-ntr and a r-pr.

R-pr occurs with the meaning of "temple" in both the demotic⁴³ and Coptic⁴⁴ scripts.

- 1 This is one of the most frequently found writings of r-pr in the singular, particularly in the Eighteenth Dynasty, e.g.; Urk., I, 20, 5; 212, 3; 279, 4; 281, 1; 282, 2; 292, 2; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire, 394, bottom; Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie, 47, 33, 11; Mariette, Abydos, II, pls.30; 39; Urk., IV, 100, 11; 163, 8; 169, 7; 175, 9; 268, 13; 363, 12; 366, 15; 753, 2; 767, 1; 863, 2; 992, 4; 1187, 11; 1225, 3; 1252, 17; 1294, 7; 1370, 5; 1432, 13; 1441, 9; 1511, 4; KRI, I, 27, 4; 283, 14; 360, 11; Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 151, 5. This grouping is also found in the plural forms, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (Urk., IV, 413, 2; 1392, 3) and 𓂏𓂏𓂏 (KRI, I, 240, 12).
- 2 Steindorf, Das Grab des Ti, pl.31.
- 3 Von Bissing, Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai, II, 20; pl.XI; Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke, 76, 22 and 24; Urk., IV, 1446, 4; Vercoutter, Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 3; pl.1.
- 4 This writing is occasionally found in the singular, Sethe, op. cit., 76, 12; Urk., IV, 832, 13; 834, 17, but occurs more often in the plural, Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 44, 31, 3; Urk., VII, 18, 19; 44, 19; 45, 5; 45, 20; 49, 4; Urk., IV, 1045, 5; 1047, 7; 1151, 14;

- 1156, 3; 1441, 13; 1443, 1; 1444, 14.
- 5 Sethe, op. cit., 73, 21; Urk., IV, 208, 9; 769, 5; 772, 4; 835, 7; 839, 17; 879, 5; 1376, 12; 1447, 13; 1495, 14; British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, VI, pl.47, 14; Wb., Belegstellen, II, 588, (ref. 397, 6). Also in the plural forms,   (Urk., I, 304, 18; Sethe, op. cit., 69, 18);   (Urk., IV, 102, 2 and 10);    (Ibid., IV, 913, 2); and   (Urk., VIII, 43).
- 6 Usually in the plural, Sethe, op. cit., 33, 4; Urk., IV, 157, 8 (singular); 387, 2; 483, 12; 2027, 3; 2029, 14; KRI, I, 42, 8 and 9; 49, 7 (singular); 126, 2; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 6, 9; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 7, 9; 12, 7; 91, 13; Gardiner, JEA 27 (1941), 70.
- 7 All the following examples are in plural forms, Urk., IV, 248, 9; 1095, 9; 1184, 10; 1186, 9; Mariette, op. cit., I, pl.52, 16; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 16, 42; Vandersleyen, Rev. d'Eg. 19 (1967), pl.9, A, 18; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 229.
- 8 Usually in the plural, Urk., IV, 96, 5; 150, 7; 834, 13 (singular); 1293, 11; Erichsen, op. cit., 91, 13; Urk., III, 66, 12.
- 9 Urk., III, 35, 1; 91, 12; 93, 1 (all plural).
- 10 Vergote, ZÄS 91 (1964), 135-137.
- 11 Steindorf, loc. cit..
- 12 Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire, 394, bottom.
- 13 Von Bissing, loc. cit..
- 14 Urk., I, 20, 5.
- 15 Ibid., I, 212, 3.
- 16 See rwt, p.143-144.
- 17 E.g., Urk., I, 281, 1; 282, 2; 292, 2. Similarly for the temple of Osiris at Abydos, Ibid., I, 279, 4.
- 18 Urk., I, 304, 18.
- 19 Gardiner, op. cit., 70, note 1.
- 20 Vandersleyen, op. cit., 148, note 1.
- 21 Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.CCIV, Chap.180, 12 (Pa).
- 22 Vandersleyen, op. cit., 148.
- 23 Wb., I, 72, 18; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 18.
- 24 Urk., IV, 879, 5.
- 25 Urk., IV, 1295, 7 and 8.
- 26 Sethe, op. cit., 76, 12; Urk., IV, 100, 11. Cf. hwt-ntr, p.178; 184.

- 27 Urk., IV, 1511, 4. Cf. hwt-ntr, p.181.
- 28 KRI, I, 38, 8 (r-pr); 38, 7 (hwt-ntr).
- 29 Urk., IV, 863, 8. Cf. hwt-ntr, p.181.
- 30 E.g., Ibid., 157, 8; 175, 9; 363, 12; 366, 15; 753, 2; 839, 17;
Cf. hwt-ntr, p.180-181.
- 31 Davies, The Tomb of Puyemre, I, pl.XL.
- 32 Ibid., I, 94-96. See also, Helck, Materialen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, 23-24.
- 33 Urk., IV, 834, 13. See, Barguet, Temple, 33.
- 34 See, PM., II, pl.XVII, 6.
- 35 Urk., IV, 1187, 11.
- 36 E.g., Sethe, op. cit., 33, 4; 78, 9; Urk., IV, 96, 5; 102, 2; 102, 10; 104, 7; 413, 2; 484, 10; 1151, 14; 1392, 3; 1441, 13; 1443, 1; 2027, 3; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.52, 16; KRI, I, 126, 2; 240, 12; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 7, 9; 12, 7; Chicago University, loc. cit..
- 37 Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 44, 31, 3.
- 38 Urk., VII, 43.
- 39 Ibid., IV, 1045, 3-6.
- 40 Ibid., IV, 1225, 2-3.
- 41 Ibid., 1184, 10.
- 42 Erichsen, op. cit., 91, 13.
- 43 Id., Demotisches Glossar, 245.
- 44 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 298b; Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 138. See also, in greater detail, Vergote, loc. cit..

rwt

Two entries with the spelling rwt are given by the Wörterbuch. The first is a term for the false-door of a tomb ³⁵ while the second is translated as "gate" or "door".³⁶ In view of the fact that the basic meaning of each rwt is the same, it seems likely that they are, in fact, the same term, applied at different times to different types of entrances. Consequently both are included in this entry.

There does, however, seem to be a distinction between the terms rwt and rryt (q.v.) which will be discussed below, and between rwt and rwy,³⁸ one of the accoutrements of the false-door.

In the Old Kingdom rwt was used for the false-door of a tomb,³⁹ or a royal pyramid temple.⁴⁰ When it was used in such a way rwt was


determined by detailed signs depicting the complex design of the false-door.

This was not, however, the only meaning of rwt in the Old Kingdom. It was also used as a term for an actual entrance and one stone doorway has been found which was labelled "rwt". This came from the funerary temple of Queen Wedjebten of the Sixth Dynasty at Saqqara. The doorway belongs to two officials and gives their names and titles on the jambs while the lintel has the name and titles of the Queen. Beneath the figures of the two officials on each side is the text rwt nt dt.f "the rwt of his funerary estate (?)".⁴¹ This was discussed by Jéquier⁴² who suggested that the estates of the officials had formed a part of the estate of the Queen. Whatever the true meaning of dt⁴³ there can be no doubt that rwt is the name of the doorway itself. In the Pyramid texts, also, rwt is used for some kind of entrance.⁴⁴

Rwt is, in addition, found, both in the Old Kingdom and later, in the expression rwt ʾst. The Wörterbuch regarded this as a compound noun and commented that it was "parallel zu šnwt und pr-ḥd" and "eine Ortlichkeit bei Memphis".⁴⁵ The evidence for the first of these comes from various offering formulae of the Old Kingdom in which offerings (usually of meat) are provided from the rwt ʾst.⁴⁶ The expression in this context was discussed, briefly, by Junker.⁴⁷ For the second definition the Wörterbuch gave several references, none of which are very helpful. Two of these are titles involving the rwt ʾst,⁴⁸ while the third is presumably that on which the definition is based, since it describes Sokar-Osiris as "preeminent in the rwt ʾst of Hwt-k3".⁴⁹ Hwt-k3 may be short for Hwt-k3-ptḥ, a name of Memphis, but the epithet gives no indication of the nature of the building. The second component of the compound, ʾst, is a term for some kind of kitchen or bakery⁵⁰ so the rwt ʾst was probably a workplace from which goods were issued for the mortuary cult to be offered at the false-door, the rwt.

In the Middle Kingdom the use of the dual rwty appears. The expression rwty wrty occurs in the story of Sinuhe where it is used of the main entrance to the royal palace. At the beginning of the story the rwty wrty are closed on the death of Amenemhat I⁵¹ and when his successor writes to Sinuhe to ask him to return to Egypt he says that

on his arrival Sinuhe can kiss the earth at the rwty wrty.⁵² Finally, when Sinuhe has returned to the palace and had his audience with the king in the hnwty, he leaves the palace by the rwty wrty and is installed in the house of a prince.⁵³

Other examples of the dual form include the rwty of the pr-nsw of Nekhen⁵⁴ while a stela of the Second Intermediate Period mentions the rwty of the god Osiris at Abydos,⁵⁵ presumably the entrance to the temple. A further example from the Middle Kingdom may occur on the jambs of the gateway of Amenemhat II at Hermopolis which is described as being a sb3 '3 r rwt (plural) hwt-ntr.⁵⁶ This was taken by the excavators to be a writing of the preposition r-rwty,⁵⁷ although the use of the plural form would be unusual in this expression. This shows that it is not always possible to be certain as to whether rwty is for the dual form of the noun or a component of the preposition r-rwty.⁵⁸ The latter will have originated in the use of the former to describe an entrance so that anything which was "at the entrance" was "outside" of the building. Which of the two was intended must be decided on the context, the spelling of the word and the determinative used. For example, a text of Amenhotep I, from Karnak, describes the door (sb3) on which it was inscribed as being r rwty hwt-ntr.⁵⁹ The door in question is a large monumental entrance (20 cubits high) and is also called "the southern sb3,"⁶⁰ indicating that it stood, originally, on the south side of the Amun temple and probably marked the main southern entrance to the temple complex.⁶¹ Rwty here is determined by  so it is likely that this is not the preposition but is the dual noun, used to describe one of the principal entrances to the temple temenos.

It has been suggested by Sethe⁶² that rwty was the word used for a pylon before the introduction of bhnt in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Since the earliest known examples, from the story of Sinuhe, describe a palace, not a temple, this can not be proved. Most surviving examples of rwty and rwty wrty date from the Eighteenth Dynasty or later and so are contemporaneous with bhnt. In addition there does seem to have been a distinction made between the rwty of a temple and the bhnt of the same building.

In the reign of Tuthmosis I, both the Fourth and Fifth Pylons of the temple of Amun at Karnak were erected. The surviving obelisk of this king, before the Fourth Pylon, is stated to be "at the rwty

of the hwt-ntr," ⁶³ that is to say, in front of the main entrance to the temple. Another text which describes the work of Tuthmosis I gives details of the two bhnt on either side of the columned hall ⁶⁴ and continues with a description of the flagstaffs at the rwty of the hwt-ntr. ⁶⁵ It is interesting that the same text should use both rwty and bhnt in such close proximity to describe the same pylon (the Fourth). The reason for this is that both the Fourth and Fifth Pylons could be called bhnt but only the Fourth, the main entrance to the temple in that reign, could be described as a rwty, and it was outside the Fourth Pylon that the obelisks and the flagstaffs were erected.

The same pylon is again described as a rwty by Tuthmosis III who also constructed obelisks in the space before it. ⁶⁶

At Karnak, in particular, there could be several rwty. The main entrance to the temple will always have been from the west, along the temple axis and this was the rwty wrty of the temple. ⁶⁷ There was also a rwty on the southern side of the temple, ⁶⁸ as is shown by the door of Amenhotep I, presumably on the line of the existing southern approach, and there was a "western rwty" ⁶⁹ which led into the palace (h) named Nh-w3.i-r.f, probably situated to the north-west of the approach to the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. ⁷⁰

In the context of the temple, therefore, rwty was used of an important entrance and rwty wrty of the main entrance. With the exception of Karnak the two probably nearly always coincided.

Further temple rwty include a mention in a damaged text of Amenhotep II in a flagpole niche of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak, describing the erection of the flagpoles at the rwty (only the determinative is preserved) of the hwt-ntr. ⁷¹ In the reign of this king the Eighth Pylon was the southern entrance to the temple.

Rwt is also found in texts from the temple of Seti I at Abydos. In one case braziers are to be set up at a rwt ⁷² while shrines (hmw) were to be built of stone at the rwty of the lord of Ta-Djeser. ⁷³

At the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu two of the flagpole dedications on the first pylon state that the flagpoles are "at the rwty wrty of his hwt-ntr." ⁷⁴ Once again the term is being used for the main entrance of the temple.

At Kawa, king Taharqa made obeisance to Amun at the rwty of the hwt-ntr ⁷⁵ and the Shabaka stone describes the union of the reed and

the papyrus at the rwty of the hwt of Ptah.⁷⁶ In texts which date to⁷⁷ the Ptolemaic period rwty was used generally for the doors of a temple.

Both rwty and rwty wrty also occur in texts which relate to the royal palace. This was noted above in the story of Sinuhe and the usage continued into the New Kingdom.

In the duties of the Vizier from the tomb of Rekhmire the text tells how the Vizier meets other officials m p3 sb3 n rwty wrty "in the sb3 of the rwty wrty!"⁷⁸ This shows that rwty wrty was the term used for the "entrance" to the palace and so could itself be regarded as having a "door" (sb3), and that rwty was not just a synonym for sb3.

In the Heb-sed scenes of Amenhotep III from the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes, the king appears at the rwty of the ch⁷⁹ while, in the Nineteenth Dynasty, an official goes to make his report beside the rwty wrty.⁸⁰

Originally, therefore, rwty was a term for the entrance to a building or an estate. In the Old Kingdom it was used to describe the false-door of the tomb and also occurred in mythological contexts from this period onward as the entrance to, for example, heaven.⁸¹ From the Middle Kingdom rwty is found most frequently in the dual form, often qualified by the adjective wr, to mean the main entrance to a palace or temple. It was not, in dynastic Egypt, used for other doorways within the buildings and, apart from the example from the funerary temple of Queen Wedjebten detailed above, no door-frames bear the name rwty.

Rwty should be regarded as a term for an "entrance" rather than the name of the door itself, for which sb3 was the usual term.

The word does not occur in either demotic or Coptic.

1 Borchardt, Denkmäler des Alten Reiches, I, 44; pl.10 (No. 1384).



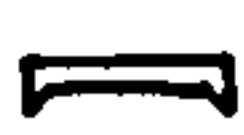
2 Urk., IV, 38, 9.

3 Urk., I, 38, 11. The forms of the determinatives of this and the preceding writing are not given correctly in the publication. The forms of the signs shown here have been collated with the originals in the Cairo Museum (No. 1482).

4 Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, I, pl.VII; Hassan, Giza, 1929-1930, 109, fig.183 (Urk., I, 234, 16); Urk., I, 175, 12; Pyr., 1638a.

5 Junker, Giza, XI, 87.

6 Urk., I, 107, 2.

- 7 Borchardt, op. cit., I, 114 and pl.28 (Urk., I, 86, 16).
- 8 Pyr., 603a.
- 9 Urk., I, 99, 16.
- 10 Pyr., 1638a; 2067b.
- 11 Pyr., 1713a (see also 603a with  and  reversed).
- 12 Jéquier, La Pyramide d'Oudjebten, 22, fig.28 (Urk., I, 273, 4).
- 13 Urk., I, 220, 11.
- 14 Drioton, Rev. d'Eg., 1 (1933), pl.IX, x+6 (The text, Louvre steha C.15, was published, inaccurately, by Pierret (Insc. Louvre, II, 29). Clère (in Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, 71-72, notes) has pointed out that the initial sign of this word is the lion (Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, E.23) not the bubalis (Ibid., E.9) as was given by Pierret. This can be confirmed from the photograph (Drioton, op. cit., pl.IX).
- 15 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II, 153; IV, pl.XLI, 15.
- 16 Sinuhe R.9; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 39, 6; For  as a determinative of rwt see; Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, N.1.
- 17 Sinuhe B.189; B.285.
- 18 Roeder, MDAIK 3 (1932), 28, fig.13.
- 19 Mariette, Abydos, II, p.30, 37.
- 20 Urk., IV, 43, 4; Barguet, Temple, 81.
- 21 Urk., IV, 93, 6; Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, 98,9,19; 108, 11 and 12.
- 22 Urk., IV, 56, 3.
- 23 Gardiner, JEA 38 (1952), pl.IV, 2..
- 24 Urk., IV, 1105, 16.
- 25 Urk., IV, 1386, 16 (Faulkner, Con. Dict., 147 quotes this reference as a writing of rwty "outside."); 1867, 5.
- 26 Wb., Belegstellen, II, 598 (ref.404, 5); Mariette, op. cit., I, pl. 40, a, 12.
- 27 Erman, ZÄS 38 (1900), 29.
- 28 Mariette, op. cit., I, p.35, b.
- 29 KRI, I, 177, 1.
- 30 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, II, pl.103, 16.
- 31 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl.8, 9 (Insc. No.4).
- 32 Breasted, ZÄS 39 (1901), pls.I-II, 15c.

- 33 Piehl, Inscriptions, II, 84.
- 34 Chassinat, Edfou, II, 31.
- 35 Wb., II, 403, 13.
- 36 Ibid., II, 404, 1-10; Faulkner, op. cit., 147.
- 37 Wb., II, 407, 12-15.
- 38 Ibid., II, 407, 9-10; Maspero, PSBA XI (1889), 304ff.
- 39 Urk., I, 38, 9 and 11; 99, 16.
- 40 Ibid., I, 107, 2; Pyr., 2067b.
- 41 Jéquier, loc. cit..
- 42 Ibid., 23.
- 43 Wb., VI. 510, 4-9.
- 44 Pyr., 603a; 1638a; 1713a.
- 45 Wb., II, 404, 4-5.
- 46 Urk., I, 175, 12; Murray, op. cit., pl.VII; Junker, loc. cit..
- 47 Junker, loc. cit..
- 48 Pierret, op. cit., II, 35 (C.176); Wreszinski, Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien, 179, V, 2.
- 49 Wb., Belegstellen, II, 598 (ref.404, 5). For further writings of rwt 1st see; Ibid., II, 598 (ref.404, 5) and possibly Borchardt, op. cit., I, 44; pl.10 (No.1384).
- 50 Wb., I, 127, 7-9.
- 51 Sinuhe R.9.
- 52 Ibid., B.189.
- 53 Ibid., B.285.
- 54 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 153; IV, pl.XLI, 15.
- 55 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl.30, 37.
- 56 Roeder, loc. cit..
- 57 Ibid., 28, note 2; Id., ZAS 67 (1931), 85, note 5.
- 58 Wb., II, 405, 6-8.
- 59 Urk., IV, 43, 4. The blocks from this doorway were found in the "cour de la cachette" at Karnak, see; PM., II, 133-134.
- 60 Urk., IV, 43, 12.
- 61 Barguet, op. cit., 88 and note 2.
- 62 Sethe, Die Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Ägypter und ihre Namen, 904.
- 63 Urk., IV, 93, 6. Faulkner, Con. Dict., 84, took this to be a writing TT of the dual of bhnt, but in this context it is more

likely to be for rwty. For the location of these obelisks see; PM, II, 75.

64 Urk., IV, 56, 1.

65 Ibid., IV, 56, 3.

66 Ibid., IV, 642, 12. See also PM, II, 74-75.

67 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 108, 11 and 12.

68 Urk., IV, 43, 4 and 12; 1332, 19.

69 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 98, 19.

70 Ibid., 103, n. See also Gitton, BIFAO 74 (1974), 63-73.

71 Urk., IV, 1332, 19.

72 KRI, I, 171, 1.

73 KRI, I, 177, 1. For a rwt (?) in the hwt+ntr of Ptah-Sokar see; Mariette, op. cit., I, pl.40, a, 12.

74 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, II, pl.103,, 5 and 16.

75 Macadam, op. cit., I, pl.8, 9.

76 Breasted, loc. cit.,

77 Chassinat, loc. cit.; Piehl, loc. cit.; Wb., II, 404, 2.

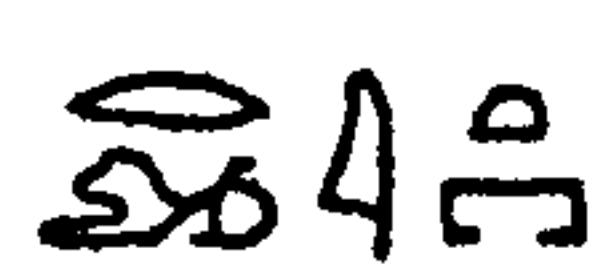




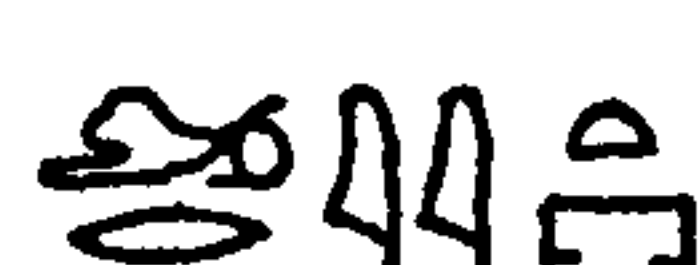

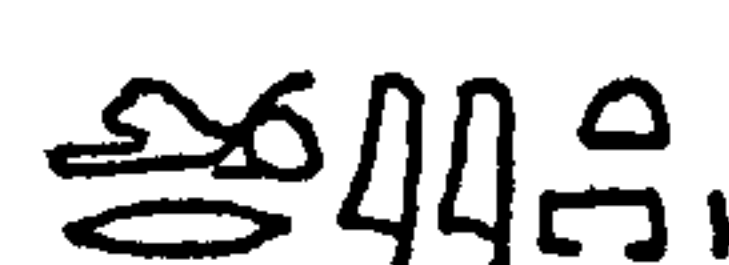

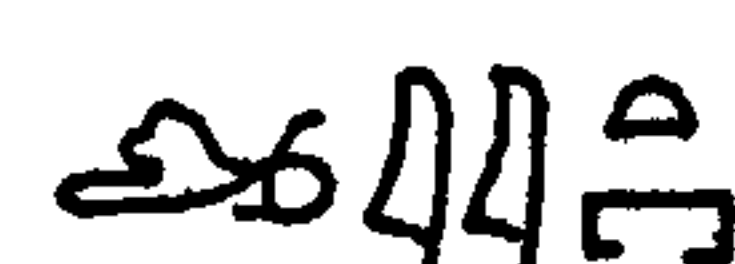





78 Urk., IV, 1105, 16.



79 Ibid., 1867, 5.

80 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 39, 6. Erman, Ägypter, 63, quotes this text as an example of rwty wrty as a title of the king.

81 Wb., II, 404, 1.

rryt

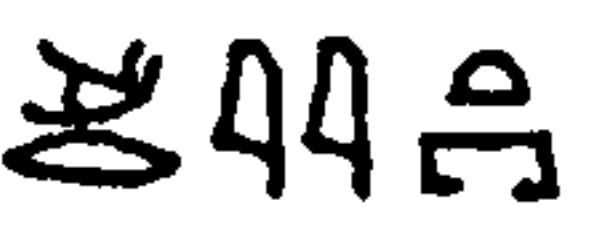
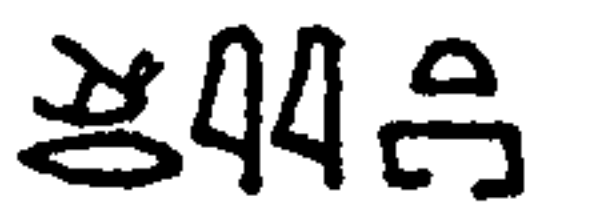


 Dyn. VI ¹	 O.K. ²	 1st. Int., Dyn. ³ XVIII, XXVI
 1st. Int. ⁴	 1st. Int. ⁵	 Dyn. XII, XVIII, XIX, XX ⁶
 Dyn. XII ⁷	 Dyn. XII, ⁸ XVIII	 Dyn. XII, XVIII XXVI ⁹
 Dyn. XVIII ¹⁰	 Dyn. XVIII ¹¹	 Dyn. XVIII ¹²
 Dyn. XX ¹³	 sic Dyn. XX ¹⁴	 Dyn. XX ¹⁵ or XXI

The first problem to be resolved concerning this word is that of the reading. The Wörterbuch¹⁶ queried the reading rwyt in view of the number of writings with the double r and also those which omitted the w. Gardiner¹⁷ gave the word as rwyt, under the same entry as rwt, while Faulkner,¹⁸ who again reads the word as rwyt, has separate entries for rwyt and rwt. However, Černý¹⁹ took the reading of the word to be rryt, which would be supported by the majority of the writings quoted above. Those which contain the w are rare and are probably due to confusion with the similarly spelled word rwt (q.v.) while the Late Egyptian writings and particularly the earlier variant  would suggest that a double r was intended at the beginning of the word. Writings in which only one r occur are again probably due to confusion with rwt. Both of the writings with only the  sign come from the title imy-r rryt of Imaunedjeh in the reign of Tuthmosis III, showing that various spellings could be used for one word, even within the same text.²⁰


The balance of the evidence would seem to be in favour of a reading rryt and this has, accordingly, been adopted in this study.

Rryt occurs in texts from the Old Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. It is used most frequently in the title imy-r rryt which is first found in the Sixth Dynasty²¹ and is the title of several officials at Dendera in the First Intermediate Period.²² It continues to be used in the Middle Kingdom,²³ although it is never a very common title. In the New Kingdom one important holder of the title is the Theban official Imaunedjeh who was both a imy-r rryt²⁴ and imy-r

rryt nsw.²⁵ Other officials of the same dynasty also held the simple title²⁶ and it recurs in the Saite period.²⁷ There would seem to have been more than one official attached to the rryt since an Eighteenth Dynasty text talks of the rmt of the rryt.²⁸ However titles such as this, no matter how often they may occur, are not very helpful in deciding on the nature of the building involved.

An important indication as to the function of the rryt is found in the Maxims of Ptahhotep where the rryt appears to be a kind of reception-room or antechamber connected with the office of an important official.²⁹ Men are warned that there is a code of behaviour for the rryt and that they must act accordingly if they wish to be received. Gardiner has noted that one version of the text has pr-nsw instead of rryt "the picture conveyed to my mind is that of officials crowding at the entrance to the palace, and waiting their turn to be admitted." ³⁰ This interpretation, regarding the rryt as a reception room at the entrance to an official building is also supported by the evidence of Eighteenth Dynasty texts. As was noted above the official Imaunedjeh held the titles imy-r rryt and imy-r rryt nsw³¹ and he was also a whm nsw³² and whm nsw tpy.³³ The fact that Imaunedjeh had such a combination of titles has undoubtedly contributed to the confusion in the past between the rryt and the 'rryt³⁴ as another official, Intef, had the titles whm nsw,³⁵ whm 's n nsw,³⁶ whm tpy n nsw³⁷ and whm tpy n 'rryt.³⁸ Although Imaunedjeh's titles are never compounded with 'rryt, the fact that both men were whmw has led to the mistaken identification of the rryt of Imaunedjeh's title, imy-r rryt, and the 'rryt in Intef's title, whm tpy n 'rryt. To add to the confusion, among the list of Intef's duties are the statements "One who carries out the procedure of the  "39 and "These were my duties in the  ".⁴⁰ This group has been taken, previously, to be a writing of 'rryt but there is no evidence that the sign  can be read as 'r. It was, however, often confused with  because of the similarity of the two signs in hieratic,⁴¹ and the group is, therefore, to be understood as a writing of rryt. This means that the official Intef, among whose titles was whm tpy n 'rryt, performed duties in the rryt. This does not, however, necessitate the identification of the two, although it is probably fair to assume that they were in close proximity as both appear to have been situated

at the entrance to an official building, often the palace.

The 'rryt was the "approach" to a palace or office, the area immediately before the door, while the rryt was a reception-room within the building, as is shown by the consistent use of the determinative  for rryt. It is, therefore, highly likely that the duties of the officials connected with the two areas would meet and overlap. The whmw would greet visitors and petitioners in the 'rryt and lead them to the rryt where they would wait before being conducted in to the presence of the official with whom they had business.

Originally rryt would seem to have been confined in use to the official reception-rooms of administrative buildings. However, from the New Kingdom the term appears to have been extended to include similarly-placed rooms in private houses. Early examples of this are dated to the Eighteenth⁴² and Nineteenth Dynasties⁴³ but these give little indication of the function of the rryt. In the Twentieth Dynasty a text advising a scribe to reject his idle life, remarks that he has made for himself a rryt in the brewers' quarter,⁴⁴ while, in love-songs of similar date, the rryt seems to be a meeting-place for lovers.⁴⁵

⁴⁶
Cerny has suggested that rryt may be related to the Coptic term ϣ "cell, room".⁴⁷

Essentially, therefore, rryt was used to describe a reception-room or antechamber attached to administrative offices, usually within the palace, although it, later, came to be used for a room in a private dwelling. Rryt does not seem to have ever occurred in a temple-context and is included here primarily because it has, in the past, been confused with both rwt and 'rryt.

1 Davies, N[orman] de G, The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi, II, pl. XII.



2 Weill, Dara, pl.XLIII; another, damaged, writing occurs on pl.XLII.


3 Petrie, Denderah 1898, pl.IX; XI; Urk., IV, 957, 15; Wb., Belegstellen, II, 603, (ref.407, 14).

4 Petrie, op. cit., pl.X.

5 Fischer, Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C., pl.XVII, a.

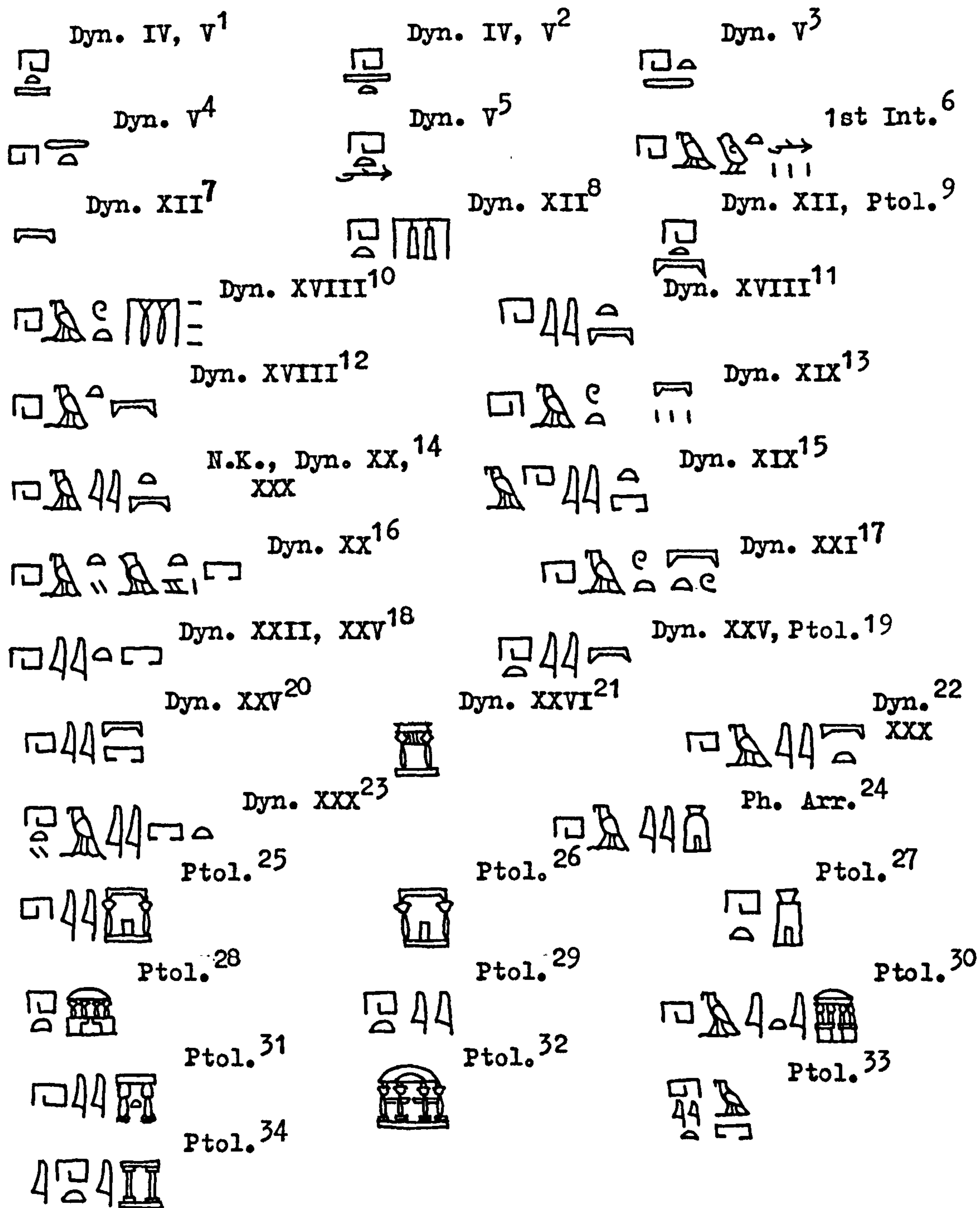
6 Zába, Les Maximes de Ptahhotep, 33, 220 and 227 (the earliest extant version of this text is Papyrus Prisse, in which this spelling of rryt occurs, and which has been dated to the early Middle

Kingdom. Other versions are of the Middle and New Kingdoms. There must, however, have been an Old Kingdom original of the text from which the later versions were copied (Ibid., 7). It is probable, therefore, that this spelling of rryt was also used in the original text); Urk., IV, 958, 10; 961, 1; 983, 6; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 303; II, 310 (with a stroke added); Davies N[orman] de G, El-Amarna, III, pls.27; 29 (largely restored); Hari, (Repetoire Onomastique Amarnien, No.19) gives a writing of rryt in the title of the official Ahmose, Imy-r rryt, as . The final stroke does not in fact exist on any of the inscriptions of this man (Davies, loc. cit.; Petrie, Tell El-Amarna, pl.23, No.44; Pendlebury, City of Akhenaten, III, pl.LXXXIV, 7). Hari also gives the same title, spelled in the same way, for User (Hari, op. cit., No.72). This official is named on a weight which bears his titles (Pendlebury, op. cit., III, pl.LXII, 4; CIII, 49) including the damaged group ; It is possible that this is to be read as rryt (Ibid., III, 161, 7) although it is more likely to be a writing of šn^c. In any case the word cannot be restored to give the writing reproduced by Hari; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 25, 13; 106, 17.

- 7 Zāba, op. cit., 51, 442 (This writing occurs in a Twelfth Dynasty version of the Maxims of Ptahhotep (Papyrus B.M. 10371/10435, O. 5). The older version of this passage (Papyrus Prisse, 13, 10) has pr-nsw instead of rryt so it is possible that this term may not have occurred in the original text.
- 8 Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XXX; Pierret, Insc. Louvre, II, 108.
- 9 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 310; Urk., IV, 955, 10; 957, 6; 958, 15; Wb., Belegstellen, II, 603 (ref.407, 14).
- 10 Urk., IV, 954, 5; 958, 8.
- 11 Ibid., IV, 967, 7; 973, 17.
- 12 Ibid., IV, 1064, 15; 1867, 6.
- 13 Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl.XXX, 92, 4.
- 14 Ibid., pl.XVI, 9.
- 15 Budge, Facsimilies of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series, pl.XLII, column III, 12 (this writing was transcribed as shown here by Gardiner, (op. cit., 36, note 1) and Černý (Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 134) but as  by Müller, (Liebespoesie, pl.6).)

- 16 Wb., II, 407.
- 17 Gardiner, Grammar, 577.
- 18 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 148.
- 19 Černy, op. cit., 134
- 20 Urk., IV, 954-961, passim.
- 21 Davies, loc. cit.; Weill, loc. cit..
- 22 Petrie, Denderah, 1898, pls. IX; X; XI; Fischer, op. cit., pl. XVII, a.
- 23 Newberry, loc. cit.; Pierret, loc. cit.; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 310, 4; Petrie, Lahun, II, pls. XXI; XXIX.
- 24 Urk., IV, 954, 5 and 8; 955, 10; 957, 6 and 15; 958, 10 and 15.
- 25 Ibid., 958, 8; 962, 11.
- 26 Ibid., 983, 6; Davies, loc. cit..
- 27 Wb., Belegstellen, II, 603, (ref. 407, 14).
- 28 Urk., IV, 1867, 6.
- 29 Zába, op. cit., 33, 220 and 227.
- 30 Gardiner, JEA 37 (1951), 109, note 2.
- 31 As notes 24 and 25 above.
- 32 Urk., IV, 955, 10; 957, 10; 958, 11; 960, 2; 961, 9; 962, 7.
- 33 Ibid., IV, 957, 6; 957, 15; 958, 12; 959, 8; 961, 1; 962, 12 and 17.
- 34 Erman, ZÄS 20 (1882), 2, note 1; Müller, ZÄS 26 (1888), 90-92; Spiegelberg, Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches, 52-53.
- 35 Urk., IV, 975, 16 and 17.
- 36 Ibid., IV, 963, 15.
- 37 Ibid., IV, 964, 9.
- 38 Ibid., IV, 965, 5; 972, 15.
- 39 Ibid., IV, 967, 7.
- 40 Ibid., IV, 973, 17.
- 41 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, E.23 and U.13; Möller, Hieratische Palaeographie, I-II, 125 and 468.
- 42 Urk., IV, 1064, 15; Müller, Liebespoesie, pl. I, 18.
- 43 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 25, 13.
- 44 Ibid., 106, 17.
- 45 Gardiner, Chester Beatty Papyri, I, pl. XVI, 9; XXX, G.2, 4; Müller, op. cit., pls. 6-7, column III, 12; For a discussion of these writings of rryt see; Gardiner, op. cit., 36, note 1.

- 46 Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 134.
47 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 287b.

h3yt

The Wörterbuch has three entries for building elements named h3yt. One of these seems to be connected with the verb h3 "to roast" ³⁶ and was, probably, some kind of bakery or kitchen. As such this word, which occurs only in accounts of the reign of Seti I, ³⁷ is outside the scope of this study and is unlikely to be related to the h3yt under discussion here.


The other two words in the Wörterbuch are h3yt "hall" or "fore-

court" ³⁸ and h3yt "heaven" or "roof".³⁹ This division into two separate terms is also followed by Faulkner who gives h3t "ceiling" ⁴⁰ and h3yt "portal".⁴¹

However, it seems likely that there was only one term the meaning of which changed, or rather became extended, between the Old and Middle Kingdoms when the preferable translation is "ceiling" and the Late and Graeco-Roman periods when a small chapel or portico was intended.

H3yt occurs very frequently from the Old Kingdom onwards in the title smsw h3yt ⁴² writings of which show determinatives to support translations of both "hall" ⁴³ and "ceiling",⁴⁴ indicating that, on the evidence of this title alone, only one word is involved. Despite the fact that this is a very old title⁴⁵ which continued in use throughout dynastic Egypt,⁴⁶ little is known of the duties of the smsw h3yt. He could be attached to a temple ⁴⁷ or a pyramid ⁴⁸ although he seems, more often, to have been a palace official.⁴⁹ In the last capacity he is mentioned in the biography of Rekhmire as "clearing the way for the Vizier to enter the palace." ⁵⁰ This would suggest that the h3yt was at the front of the building, a porch or a portico leading into the main edifice. Since Rekhmire had just mentioned reaching the sb3 of the 'r3yt ⁵¹ where courtiers were bowing down to him, it would be reasonable to assume that, having entered the area immediately before the main building (the 'rryt, q.v.) he was ushered on by the official of the h3yt, a covered portico in front of the door.

Examples of h3yt outside of this title are rare before the Third Intermediate Period. Those which are known would support an original meaning of "ceiling" for h3yt, although it is also possible that the word had acquired an interpretation of "portico" at least by the Middle Kingdom since it could, by that date, be already determined by a "columned hall" sign.⁵²

One of the earliest examples of h3yt outside of the title smsw h3yt occurs in the description of the tomb of Ankhtifi at Moalla. Here, in a very obscure passage, the  would appear to have been part of the '3-door.⁵³

Fortunately other examples of h3yt leave no doubt of the meaning of the word.

In the Instructions of Amenemhat I, the h3ywt of a pr are des-

cribed as being made of lapis.⁵⁴ The choice of a blue stone would suggest that this h3yt was a ceiling, coloured blue to imitate the sky. Although surviving versions of this text date from the New Kingdom the original composition, and consequently the choice of vocabulary, was of the Middle Kingdom.

Texts of the New Kingdom, also, support a meaning of "ceiling". An Eighteenth Dynasty stela records the fact that the storehouses of the temple of Amun at Karnak were filled with tribute up to their h3yt,⁵⁵ while, in the Book of the Dead, the house (pr) of Osiris contains walls (inbw), a floor (s3tw) and a ceiling (h3yt).⁵⁶ A similar description of a pr of Amun, in the Twenty-First Dynasty, also includes a h3yt, inbw, s3tw and ‘3wy.⁵⁷

Clearly, in these texts, h3yt is to be understood as a "ceiling" and this, on the evidence available, would seem to be the preferable translation for the term in texts ascribed to the New Kingdom or earlier. The use of the word in the title smsw h3yt, however, particularly as illustrated in the Rekhmire inscription, strongly suggests that h3yt was already acquiring a wider meaning as a term for a portico or porch before an entrance.

Unfortunately further texts of the New Kingdom are not very helpful for an understanding of the development of the term.⁵⁸

One interesting case where h3yt is used of a porch before a temple pylon occurs in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty when Shabaka renewed the door and porch of the Fourth Pylon at Karnak. He describes the resulting structure, a lightly roofed porch with two supporting columns, as a h3yt ‘3t.⁵⁹

At the end of the same dynasty, Tanutamun built two h3yt for the temple of Amun at Napata. One is described as being of stone with door-leaves (‘3wy) of electrum⁶⁰ while the second, at the back (? pr h3t, q.v.) of the temple was connected with the care of cattle.⁶¹ Whatever the nature of the latter, the former h3yt was probably a portico like those erected in the Thirtieth Dynasty. This is possibly also true of the h3yt built in the wb3 of HorShef by the official Hor in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.⁶² Vercoutter has identified this with the frontage of the Ramesside temple at Heracleopolis but this suggestion remains unproved.⁶³

A damaged text, contemporaneous with the Twenty-Sixth dynasty, notes

the restoration of a h3yt[t] at Kawa.⁶⁴

By the Thirtieth Dynasty h3yt had become the term used for the porticos with low screen walls and engaged columns, which were erected on several temple sites. One of these was constructed by Nectanebo I at Philae and was described as a "h3yt.... of sandstone, surrounded by columns."⁶⁵ The same king records the building, at Hermopolis, of a pr for the goddess Nehmetaawy, with a h3yt which is said to have columns with sistrum-capitals,⁶⁶ as has the portico at Philae.⁶⁷ The Hermopolis portico was undoubtedly of similar design.

In the temple of Hibis in Kharga oasis, Nectanebo II constructed a portico with plant-form columns, abutting onto the front of the temple. This is called a h3yt⁶⁸ and also a h3yt '3t.⁶⁹

In the time of Philip Arridaeus work was executed on the w'bt of the Falcon at Athribis, including the building of a h3yt with eight w3d columns, situated at the entrance (r) to the w'bt.⁷⁰

By this time h3yt was firmly established as the name of these small "porticos" and was, thus, easily extended in use and applied to all structures of similar design, wherever their position within the temple complex. In the Ptolemaic period the term was used for the roof-chapel of the temple of Hathor at Dendera⁷¹ and for buildings situated beside the sacred lakes.⁷² The Dendera roof-chapel⁷³ is similar in style to the Thirtieth Dynasty porticos and there is no reason to suppose that other h3ywt, which can not be so readily identified, differed greatly in plan, size or appearance. Other Graeco-Roman h3ywt are recorded at Esna,⁷⁴ Karnak⁷⁵ and Edfu.⁷⁶

The meaning of h3yt in the Late and Graeco-Roman periods is not in doubt; it referred to a small portico or chapel with screen walls and engaged columns. Similarly there is no doubt of the existence, in texts up to the Twenty-First Dynasty of a noun h3yt which is best translated as "ceiling". It is possible that these are two separate unrelated terms which happen to show similar spellings, however, it is much more likely that the original term h3yt, "ceiling", was extended, probably at a much earlier date than can be proved on present evidence, to cover a small porch in front of an entrance and it is as such that it occurs in the title smsw h3yt. Later still the term came to be applied, specifically, to the porticos of the Late and Graeco-Roman periods.



Previous discussions of h3yt have, in the main, concluded that it was a term for a portico, pavillion or similar structure.⁷⁷ One exception to this is Goedicke who, in discussing the title smsw h3yt, preferred to see the h3yt as a "collective designation of the administrative quarter."⁷⁸ If this were so, then h3yt as used in this title would have to be distinguished from the term which, clearly, described a part of a building. This is not necessary since there is no corroborative evidence to support Goedicke's suggestion.

H3yt is probably related to the term hyt "heaven", a translation which the Wörterbuch gives as an alternative meaning of h3yt "roof".

Whether or not h3yt survived into Coptic is open to question. Gardiner regarded h3yt as the ancestor of the Coptic ⲁⲓⲧⲏⲩ a "gateway, porch or forecourt,"⁸⁰ although Černý,⁸¹ following Spiegelberg⁸² and Krall⁸³ preferred to see ⲁⲓⲧⲏⲩ as a derivative of Egyptian h3ty.⁸⁴

- 1 Junker, Giza, IX, 77, abb.31; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'ancien Empire, 262 (wrongly numbered 362).
- 2 Junker, op. cit., 78, abb.32; Mariette, op. cit., 341.
- 3 Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten, I, 24, No.22; 142, No.212.
- 4 Hassan, Giza, VI, part III, 103.
- 5 Borchardt, op. cit., I, 25, No.23.
- 6 Vandier, Mo'allà, 232, V, α, 3; pl.20.
- 7 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 67.
- 8 Ibid., 17.
- 9 Ibid., 249; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 415.
- 10 Griffith, ZAS 34 (1896), 47. See also Malinine, BIFAO 34 (1934), 65.
- 11 Urk., IV, 1073, 5.
- 12 Ibid., IV, 429, 7.
- 13 Griffith, loc. cit.; Malinine, loc. cit. (P. Sallier II, III, 1.

The second bird was transcribed by both Griffith and Malinine as the nh-sign (Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, G.21). It is, in fact, the tiw-bird (Ibid., G.4) as would be expected in such a writing. For a copy of the hieratic text see, Budge, Facsimilies of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series, pl.LXV.

Compare the sign with Möller, Hieratische Palaeographie, II, N. 191. The same also applies to the transcription by Malinine of the same sign on a new ostracan (Malinine, op. cit., 65 and following plate (unnumbered). This writing determines the word with  instead of .

- 14 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Egyptian Text volume, 267, (Chapter 125, 44); Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Rameses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, I, pl. 23A, 49; Roeder, ASAE 52(1954), 393.
- 15 LD., III, 170.
- 16 Gardiner, Onom., pl. XIA, 15.
- 17 Hamada, ASAE 47 (1947), 17, 3.
- 18 LD., III, 255, i; Urk., III, 68, 13.
- 19 Wreszinski, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 13 (1910), pl. II, 12 (after p. 381); Leclant, Rev. d'Eg. 8 (1951), 107; pl. 4; Mariette, Denderah, III, pl. 37, i.
- 20 Urk., III, 68, 5.
- 21 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88; pls. II; III.
- 22 LD., III, 285a.
- 23 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, The Temple of Hibis in El-Khargeh Oasis, III, pl. 64, top (same, omitting 3 pl. 65, reveal).
- 24 Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 8.
- 25 Sauneron, Esna, III, 194, Insc. 284, 3.
- 26 Ibid., 196, Insc. 284, 12.
- 27 Urk., VIII, 152, 237.
- 28 Chassinat, BIFAO 30 (1930), 300.
- 29 Urk., VIII, 52, No. 63, h.
- 30 Mariette, op. cit., IV, pl. 2.
- 31 Urk., VIII, 52, No. 63, d.
- 32 Mariette, op. cit., I, pl. 62, j.
- 33 Dümichen, Baugeschichte des Denderatempels, pl. XXXI, 14 and 17.
- 34 Wb., II, 476 (not quoted by the Belegstellen).
- 35 Ibid., 476, 14.
- 36 Ibid., 475, 9.
- 37 KRI, I, 244, 15; 245, 14; 260, 9; 269, 15.
- 38 Wb., II, 476, 4-11.
- 39 Ibid., 476, 12-13. Leclant, op. cit., 111, note 3, notes that

Fairman is of the opinion that the Wörterbuch should have translated h3yt as Decke "ceiling" rather than Dach "roof".

40 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 156.

41 loc. cit..

42 Wb., II, 476, 8-11.

43 E.g., Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 17; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 61, 1; Malinine, loc. cit..

44 E.g., Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., 67; 249; Urk., IV, 429, 7; 1073, 5.

45 Murray, Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, pl.XII.

46 For discussions of this title see; Helck, Beamtentiteln, 83, note 31; Gardiner, Onom., I, 60*-61* [133].

47 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 61, 1; Davies N[ina] de G and Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhat, pl.VII, see also; Ibid., 7.

48 Hassan, loc. cit.; Badawi, ASAE 40 (1940), pl.60.

49 See; Gardiner, Onom., I, 60*-61* [133].

50 Urk., IV, 1073, 5.

51 Ibid., IV, 1073, 3.

52 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 67; 249.

53 Vandier, loc. cit..

54 Malinine, loc. cit..

55 Urk., IV, 429, 7.

56 Budge, loc. cit..

57 Hamada, loc. cit..

58 LD., III, 170 (a h3yt at the Ramesseum); Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit.; Gardiner, op. cit., pl.XI, 15.

59 Leclant, loc. cit. (also Yoyotte, Ch. d'Eg., 18 No.55 (Jan. 1953), 28-38.

60 Urk., III, 68, 5.

61 Ibid., III, 68, 13.

62 Vercoutter, BIFAO 49 (1950), 88 and pls.II; III. (See also; Dar-
essy, ASAE 5 (1905), 127.

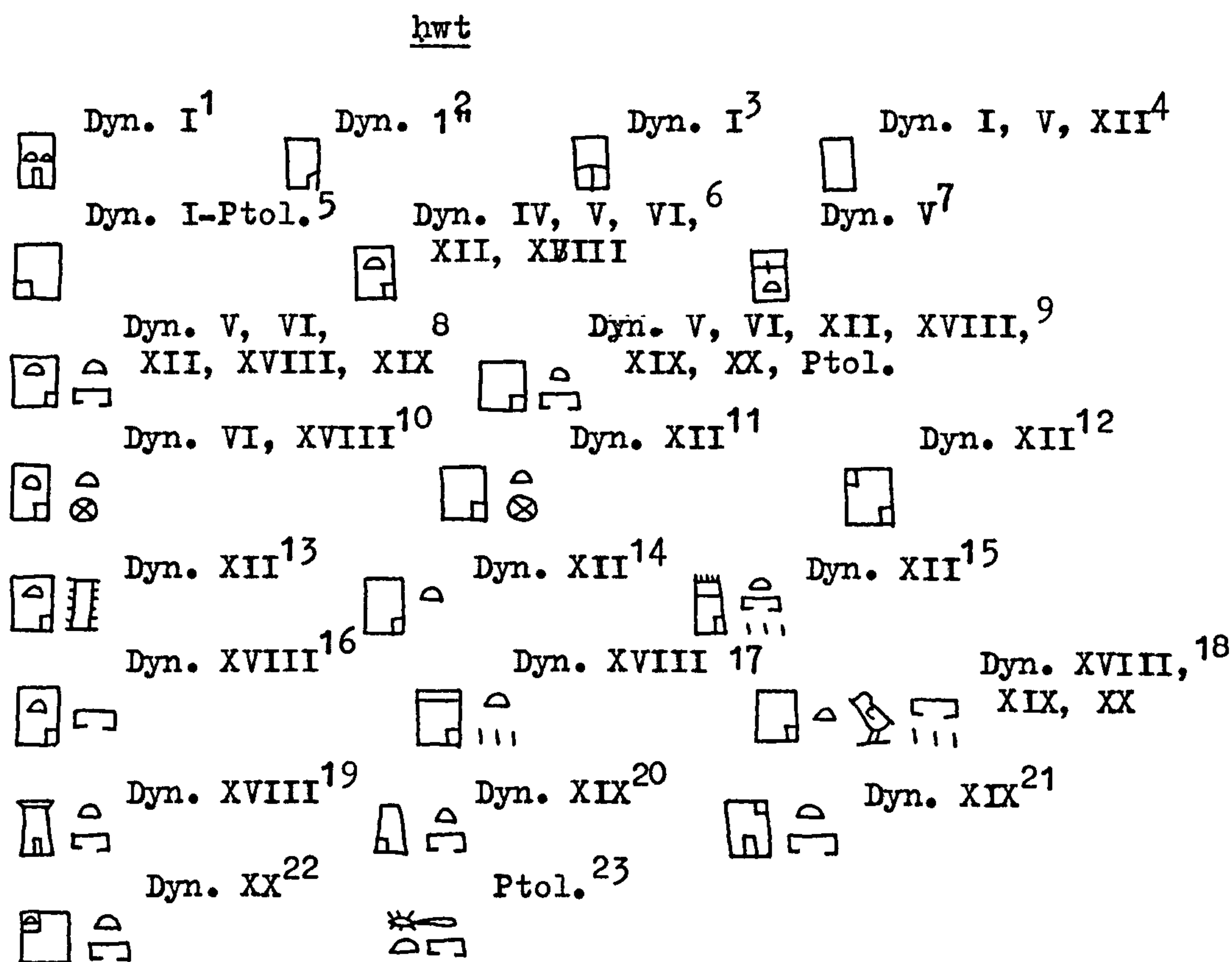
63 See further under wh3, p.90, note 59.

64 Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, 67, note 200; pl.26, line 106.

65 Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 166; 167. For a plan see; PM., VI, 202; 204; for photographs see; Lyons, A Report on the Island and Temples of Philae, Nos.3 and 4.


66 Roeder, op. cit., 393.

- 67 Lyons, loc. cit..
- 68 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, op cit, III, pls. 65, reveal; 66, reveal. For a plan see; Ibid., I, pl. XXXIII, and for a photograph see; Ibid., I, pl. VII.
- 69 Ibid., I, pl. 64, top.
- 70 Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 145, 8.
- 71 Mariette, op. cit., III, p. 37; IV, p. 2; Dümichen, loc. cit..
- 72 Mariette, op. cit., I, p. 62, j.
- 73 Chassinat, Le Temple de Dendara, I, pl. XLI; PM., VI, 100-103 and plan on 94.
- 74 Sauneron, op. cit., 194, Insc. 284, 3.
- 75 Urk., VIII, 52, 63, d and h; 152, 237.
- 76 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 415; Id., BIFAO 30 (1931), 300.
- 77 Leclant, op. cit., 111-112; Badawy, ZÄS 102 (1975), 88; Vercoutter, op. cit., 95; Barguet, Temple, 288; Alliot, Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au Temps des Ptolémées, II, 483; Daumas, Les Mammisis des Temples égyptiens, 210, note 4; Yoyotte, op. cit., 36; Chassinat, Le Mammisis d'Edfou, p. X, note 8; See also Carter and Cardiner, JEA 4 (1917), 134, note 7 (2) for h3yt as a term for "ceiling".
- 78 Goedicke, The Report of Wenamun, 19.
- 79 Wb., II, 476, 12. See also Wilke, ZÄS 76 (1940), 93-99.
- 80 Gardiner, Onom., I, 60*-61* 133. For ꜥꜣꜥꜣ see; Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 713b-714a. This term does not appear to be entered in Westendorf's Koptisches Handwörterbuch.
- 81 Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 298.
- 82 Spiegelberg, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 248; Id., Koptische Etymologien, 25, No. 16.
- 83 Krall in Revillout, Revue Egyptologique 2 (1882), 31, note 1.
- 84 Wb., III, 222, 5.



Hwt is an extremely common term which was in use throughout dynastic Egypt, from the Archaic period to the Ptolemaic era. It is a term to which a separate study ought really to be devoted and it is not possible in a work of this kind, which is attempting to review a large number of words, to assess adequately this one word which occurs so frequently in texts of all periods. However, it would also be unacceptable to omit such an important term and I propose to give here a summary of the history of hwt and to discuss its use with relation to actual buildings.

The term is a very ancient one which occurs, both alone and in compounds, from the First Dynasty onwards. It is, therefore, clear that the enclosure which is represented in the hwt-hieroglyph must have been a building-type which was already in existence in the pre- and protodynastic periods. The form of the hieroglyph varies slightly in the Archaic period (see the writings above), but it is essentially a rectangular enclosure which, at this period in Egypt, would have been constructed of brick. The main point of contention concerning the exact nature of this enclosure is the matter of the identification of the small square which is usually depicted in one of the lower

corners of the enclosure in the most usual form of the sign  which was in constant use from the First Dynasty. Some writers have interpreted the square as a building,²⁴ possibly a tower to guard the entrance to the enclosure,²⁵ while others have regarded it as being a representation of the gateway itself.²⁶ The early variants of the sign would tend to support the latter interpretation as the second writing quoted above does seem to show an entrance. It is, therefore, probable that the small square represents a gateway in the corner of the enclosure. This was, probably, a complex entrance designed to restrict ease of access to the enclosure²⁷ in which case it can be claimed that at least two protodynastic hwt have survived.

These are the large brick enclosures at Abydos, known today as the Shunet Ez-Zebib²⁸ and the Middle Fort.²⁹ A third example also exists which it has not been possible to excavate as the enclosure is now occupied by a Coptic monastery.³⁰ The original purpose of these enclosures has been a subject of much debate. The excavators regarded them as "forts", a judgement which was, presumably, based primarily on their size.³¹ More recent opinions on the nature of these enclosures has depended on whether or not the writer believed the royal cemetery at Um El-Qa'ab to be the actual tombs of the kings of the Archaic period. The weight of the evidence does, however, indicate that the royal tombs of the First Dynasty, and some of those of the Second Dynasty, were at Abydos, the large archaic mastabas at Saqqara belonging to high officials.³² In this case it is most likely that the enclosures at Abydos were connected with the provision of the mortuary cult of the dead kings, playing a similar role to that of the court around the Step Pyramid at Saqqara. Both the Shunet and the Middle Fort have complex gateways which would have been readily represented in the hieroglyphic sign by a square in the corner of the enclosure.³³

Those writers who prefer to regard Saqqara as the royal cemetery of the Archaic period have suggested other interpretations. Emery³⁴ sees them as "surrounding the Upper Egyptian residence of the king" and Ricke³⁵ considers that they were "Residenzen für die Teilnahme der lebenden Könige an abydenischen Götter-festen" at the nearby Osiris temple. Lauer,³⁶ however, suggests that they were magazines for this same temple.

In view of the comparison which can be made with the court of the Step Pyramid, the proximity of the enclosures to the royal cemetery

and the overwhelming evidence that hwt was concerned primarily with the funerary cult, these enclosures are much more likely to have served as cult-places for dead kings than as either residences for the live monarch or storehouses for the Osiris temple.

The surviving enclosures at Abydos are of the Second Dynasty but there is no reason to doubt that similar structures existed within the rectangles bounded by the "tombs of the courtiers", to serve the cults of the kings of the First Dynasty.³⁷

Since the form of the hieroglyph was already well-established by the start of the dynastic period, it would seem logical to suppose that similar enclosures had existed in predynastic Egypt. These need not necessarily have been connected with the cults of dead rulers as it is possible that any large brick enclosure, whatever its purpose, was called a hwt. There is certainly evidence to suggest that large produce-bearing estates were originally enclosed by brick boundary walls and known as hwt, since the term is used, in the Old Kingdom, to describe the funerary estates which provided offerings for the mortuary cults. This use of the term is outside of the scope of this study and has already been extensively studied by Jacquet-Gordon who discusses both the hwt-foundations and those known as niwt, which also provisioned the funerary cults.³⁸ She regards the hwt as having been foundations instituted by the king to provide for his mortuary cult and under the control of officials appointed by the king. These estates are also attested for an earlier period, when the occurrences of hwt on the jar-seals of the Archaic period refer either to the estate from which the produce originated⁴⁰ or, if contained in a title, the office of the administrator responsible for despatching the offerings to the tomb of the noble or king concerned.⁴¹

To return to hwt as it is known to have referred to actual buildings, there is further evidence, from texts, that the cult-centres of the kings of the Archaic period were called hwt, which serves to support the identification of the function of the Abydene enclosures.

A piece of a diorite vase found at the tomb of king Kaa at Abydos bears the title of a sem-priest of the hwt of Kaa.⁴² This would have referred to the hwt of the king at Abydos which has since been completely destroyed. In addition the expression hwt-k3 had already come into use by the end of the First Dynasty. A hwt-k3 of Adjib is

attested⁴³ as is a hwt-k3, called 3h-ntr, of the first king of the Second Dynasty, Hetepsekhemuy.⁴⁴ The use of hwt-k3 for the mortuary chapel of both private and royal individuals continues.⁴⁵

In the Old Kingdom hwt was retained as the name of the mortuary temple of the king even when the design of the edifice had been changed to such an extent that it no longer resembled the original brick enclosure. This is illustrated by the fact that blocks which were intended for the Valley temple of Snofaru at Dashur were marked with a hwt-hieroglyph before they left the quarries.⁴⁶ In the Abusir papyri the pyramid temple of Neferirkare is referred to as "the hwt of Neferirkare"⁴⁷ and "the hwt of Kakai".⁴⁸ There can be no doubt with these examples that this hwt of the king was the temple itself and not a "foundation" in view of the contexts in which the terms occur, particularly the writing of Hwt-Nfr-ir-k3-r which is found in a duty-rota specifying the officials which are to be on duty in the 'rrt-hntt and the pr-wrw,⁴⁹ both of which refer to particular areas of the temple.⁵⁰

However, other examples from the Old Kingdom of the hwt of a king probably refer to an estate of the king rather than to his mortuary temple. This is so with another example from the same archive which records that provisions for the temple of Neferirkare were brought from the hwt of Ranefereref.⁵¹

In the Old Kingdom, therefore, hwt was used in two ways. Firstly, and most frequently, to describe a foundation which provisioned a mortuary cult, and secondly as the name of the building in which the cult was celebrated. Hwt does not occur as the term for a cultus temple in the Old Kingdom, the regular expression being hwt-ntr (q.v.), although possible exceptions to this are found on the Fifth Dynasty Palermo Stone.

In inscriptions of the Archaic period rectangular enclosures which lack the "gateway" can be equated with others of the same name which employ the standard hwt-hieroglyph,⁵² showing that the simple rectangle could be read as hwt. On the Palermo Stone the same sign is also found, within which are hieroglyphs representing the name of the edifice.⁵³ The usual hwt-sign is not employed for the same buildings but, occasionally the rectangular enclosures have "battlements".⁵⁴ These buildings have been discussed by Kaplony who regards them as "Götterfestungen".⁵⁵ In view of the fact that at least three of these buildings are named

in connection with the pd-šs ceremony, it is most likely that they were temples of some kind.

In the same annals the expression tp-hwt (q.v.) occurs⁵⁶ to mean the "roof" of a temple.

The use of hwt in the Middle Kingdom is less well attested, although it was certainly still connected with the mortuary cult as the hwt of various individuals are known.⁵⁷ There is little evidence for the use of the term in relation to cultus temples although the title imy-r hwt n Swth "Overseer of the hwt of Seth"⁵⁸ implies that hwt could be employed as an abbreviation for hwt-ntr. However, due to the relative paucity of relevant texts for this period, further evidence has not survived.⁵⁹

As with so many words the majority of the extant examples date from the New Kingdom.

One interesting text, from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, records how Ahmose I built, at Abydos, a pyramid and a hwt for his grandmother Tetisheri.⁶⁰ These structures have been excavated, revealing that the hwt, in which the stela bearing the text was found, consists of a square brick building, divided into many compartments which were filled with rubble to form a solid construction. An offering chapel, at the entrance to which were hundreds of offering pots, extended from one side into the centre of the structure. The stela had been, originally, set up at the back of this chapel.⁶¹ The use of hwt to describe such an edifice, which bears no resemblance either to the enclosure represented by the hieroglyph, or a standard Egyptian temple, indicates that the basis for using this particular term for a building lay in its function, not in its plan. This virtually solid construction was purely an offering chapel for the cult of the dead queen, the presence of the large amount of pottery leaving no doubt as to the purpose of the building. This shows the continuance of the essentially funerary nature of the hwt, as already evidenced for the Old Kingdom and the term continues to be used as the name of the mortuary temples of the kings and queens of the New Kingdom.

Examples of this are much too frequent to be detailed individually and little would be gained by so doing. However, it can be noted that the royal mortuary temples on the West Bank at Thebes were most often described as being the hwt of a particular king.⁶²

Often these temples are described as being "the hwt of the king (named) in the pr of Amun",⁶³ indicating that they were under the administrative control of the main temple of Amun at Karnak. One text refers to these temples collectively as "the hwt (pl.) of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt which are beside his (Amenhotep III's) father Amun at Thebes".⁶⁴ The full name of each of these temples was the hwt nt hhw m rnpwt "the hwt of millions of years" of the king. This expression, which was once thought to have been used only for actual mortuary temples,⁶⁵ was, in fact, used of any temple in which the worship of the king was observed, even if the temple in question was dedicated primarily to the chief god of the area.⁶⁶ Since this expression is linked so closely with the cult of the king it is interesting to note that the full name of a king's tomb in the Valley of the Kings was p3 hr '3 špss n hhw n rnpwt pr-'3 hr imntt w3st "The great and noble tomb of millions of years of Pharaoh on the west of Thebes".⁶⁷

Hwt, therefore, clearly retained its association with the funerary cult and, in the New Kingdom, this was extended to private individuals.⁶⁸

It was, however, from the New Kingdom onward that hwt was used with increasing frequency for the cult-place of a god, as an abbreviation for hwt-ntr. Once again, examples of this are so numerous⁶⁹ that there can be no doubt that hwt was employed in this way and to quote texts at length is unnecessary.

In the Ptolemaic period hwt is found referring to individual rooms within a temple.⁷⁰

There is little that can be usefully added in such a brief study of this important term. The administrative aspect of the hwt, as indicated in the Ramesside Wilbour Papyrus, is a topic too diverse and complex to be considered here.



It is worth, however, emphasising once again the fundamentally funerary nature of hwt which can be seen clearly in the Old Kingdom when it was used almost exclusively in this way, and which continued into the New Kingdom as the name of the royal mortuary temple. Since a hwt was essentially a cult-place, there is no one form of building which can be identified as a hwt, the term defining the function of an edifice rather than its plan. Originally a hwt was an enclosure like that depicted in the hieroglyphic sign but, even by the time of

the Old Kingdom, the term was being applied to buildings which bore no resemblance to the original enclosure. The link between these hwt and those of the pre- and protodynastic period was their identity of function. Since the simple term was so closely identified with the cult of the dead, the adjunct ntr was employed to distinguish the cult place of a god from that of a king. Although even in the Old Kingdom the distinction was not being enforced with the result that the temple of a god could be called a hwt while the cult-place of the king, his mortuary temple, could be described as a hwt-ntr.⁷¹

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Hwt occurs in the demotic script with a similar range of meanings but in the Coptic period, by which time the pagan temples had fallen into disuse, hwt survives only as a term for a "sepulchre!"⁷³

- 1 Emery, Hor-Aha, 20, fig.13 (also published in Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl.19, 36. The sign occurs on a seal from tomb 3357 at Saqqara, and has within the enclosure the name of Hor-Aha. The seal has two rows of hwt-enclosures and one large \ddagger . This group has been read by Kaplony as either hwt-njswt or hwt-šm'j(t) (Ibid., II, 1098).
- 2 Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, pl.XII, 3. The reading of the sign as hwt is confirmed by comparison with Ibid., I, pl.VI, 8 which shows a typical hwt-enclosure of the same name.
- 3 Ibid., I, pl.IX, 12.
- 4 Although this sign lacks the characteristic "gateway" of the hwt-hieroglyph, the reading is confirmed, as with No.2, by comparison with other writings (Ibid., I, pl.IX, 1 and 2; IX, 1 and 3). Other writings of this simple enclosure which could be interpreted as "hwt" see; Kaplony, op. cit., III, pls.35, 110; 67, 241; Urk., I, 165, 15; British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, II, pl.20.
- 5 This writing of hwt occurs consistently from the First Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period. Examples are so numerous that the following references provide only a representative selection; Petrie, op. cit., I, pls.XV, 16; XXVI, 58, 59 and 60; Kaplony, op. cit., III, pls.35, 115; 36, 118, 86, 322; 123, 737; 125, 749; Urk., I, 4, 9; Petrie, Medum, pl.21; LD., II, 42a; 76a; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire, 384; Newberry, El-Bersheh, I, pl.XXXIII; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I,

- 39, h, 5; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.VII; Urk., IV, 25, 10; Naville, The XIth. Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, III, pls.VI, 1; XVI, 1; Urk., IV, 1796, 10; Mariette, Abydos, I, 47b; KRI, I, 335, 3; II, 428, 9; Marciniak, Deir El-Bahari, I, pl.LXXXIV, Graffito No.128; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 16, 40; Benson and Gourlay, The Temple of Mut in Asher, 351; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 92; 539; Mariette, Dendérah, III, pl.XXIII.
- 6 Petrie, Medum, pl.21; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 6; Quibell, The Ramesseum, 1896, pl.XXXIII; Mariette, Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire, 317 (in the name of a town); Davies N[orman] de G, Ptahhotep, I, pl.XII, 228; LD., II, 63; Petrie, Denderah, pl.III; Urk., I, 102, 7; Urk., VII, 61, 3; Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 109, figs. 92; 93.
- 7 Urk., I, 236, 14.
- 8 Pyr., 308; Urk., I, 85, 7; Newberry, op. cit., I, pl.XVIII; Urk., IV, 387, 1; Davies N[orman] de G, El-Amarna, IV, 3; Urk., IV, 2027, 10; LD., III, 152d; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.47, a.
- 9 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 4; Urk., I, 264, 14 (in hwt-k3); 212, 10 (the exact form of the hwt here is ); VII, 28, 16; IV, 28, 1; 108, 1; 447, 5; 766, 2; 885, 7; 975, 8; 1748, 5; KRI, I, 171, 5 and 6; 326, 11; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6, 3; 7, 7; 13, 17; 30, 3; 50, 8; 67, 16; Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, 6, 15; 24, 12; 33, 5.
- 10 Urk., I, 131, 6; Davies N[orman] de G, The Tomb of Puyemre at Thebes, I, pl.40 (in the expression hwt-k3 n 'I-hms Nfrtiry).
- 11 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 160e; Adam, ASAE 56 (1959), pl.9.
- 12 Louvre C.198 (this stela, mentioned by Pierret (Insc. Louvre, II, 53) does not appear to be published and this sign, in the title hk3 hwt, was noted in the Louvre. The stela is dated by Boreux (Antiquités égyptiennes, Catalogue Guide, I, 161) to the Twelfth Dynasty).
- 13 Bisson de la Roque, Tôd, 107.
- 14 Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, pl.35, 34.
- 15 British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, II, pl.2 (this could conceivably be a writing of ḥt, but, since hwt-ntr in the same stela is written  , a reading of hwt for this group is probably to be preferred).
- 16 Urk., IV, 131, 16.

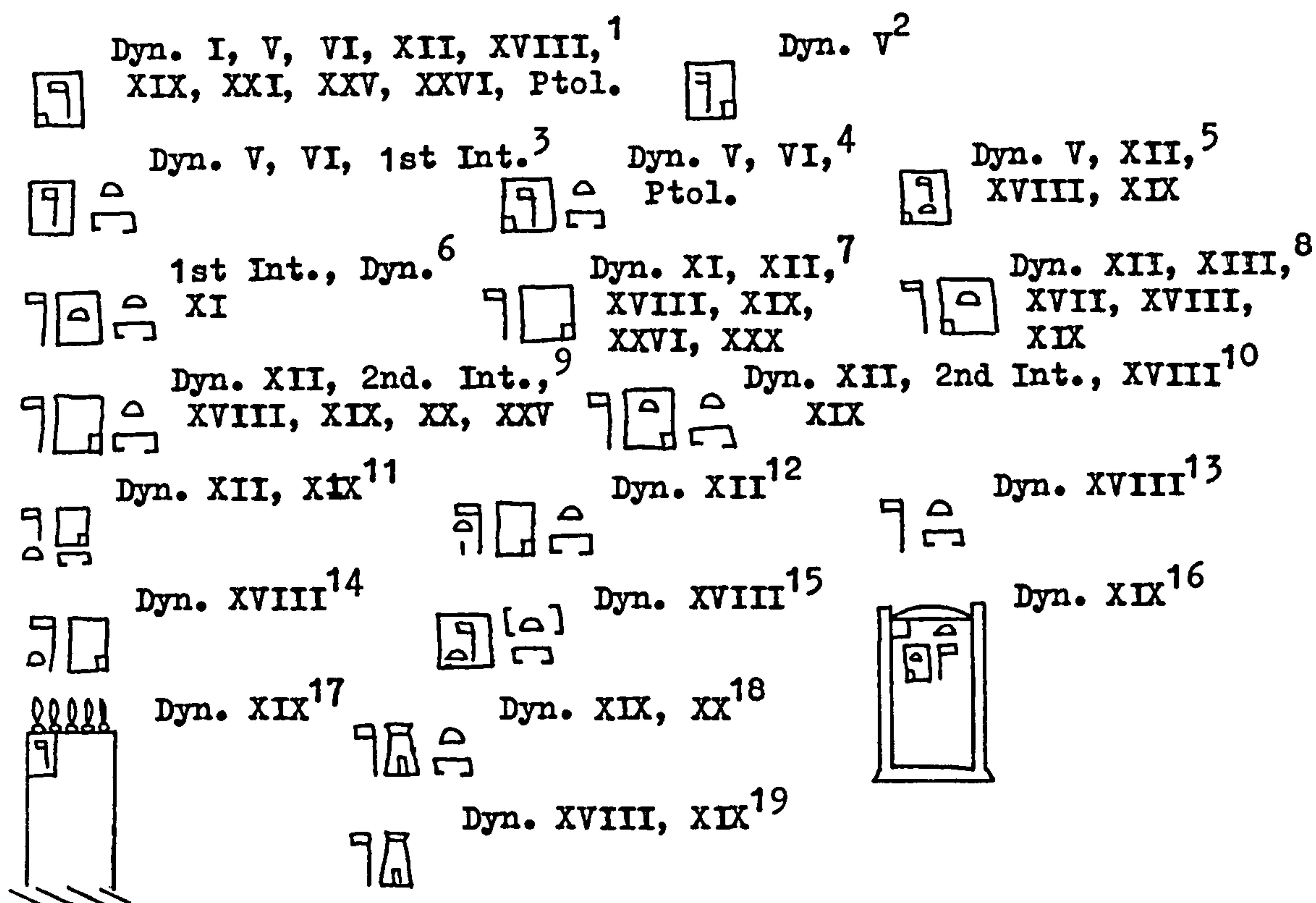
- 17 Ibid., 1542, 8.
- 18 Berlin Königlichen Museen, Aegyptische Inschriften, II, 41 (with °°° instead of 𓂏); KRI, I, 42, 3; 48, 3; Erichsen, op. cit., 7, 9; 70, 10; 81, 15 (with 𓂏 and 𓂏 reversed); 49, 22 (with cursive w).
- 19 Urk., IV, 1928, 14.
- 20 KRI, I, 39, 13.
- 21 Foucart, Le Tombeau d'Amonmos, pl.XIII.
- 22 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, II, pl.123, B.
- 23 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 589.
- 24 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.6, note 1 (after Calverley).
- 25 Griffith, A Collection of Hieroglyphs, 35.
- 26 Maspero, PSBA.XII (1889-1890), 247; Lefebvre, Grammaire de l'Égyptien Classique, 402, 0.6 and 0.7; Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, 28-29; Ayrton Currelly and Wiegall, Abydos, III, 5.
- 27 See, for example, Emery, Archaic Egypt, 118, fig.75 and 76. It has also been suggested that the hwt hieroglyph depicts a sanctuary within a temple enclosure-wall and it has been claimed that such a situation exists on the site of the Old Kingdom temple at Tell-Basta (Jacquet Gordon, Les Noms des Domaines funéraires sous l'ancien Empire égyptien, 4, after Anon. Ch. d'Eg. 39 and 40 (January and July 1945), 84). However, Habachi makes no mention of a sanctuary in the North-West corner (Tell Basta, 11-32) and although the temple sanctuary may well lie to the North-West of the centre of the enclosure, it is not in the corner and the plan of the temple enclosure does not resemble the usual hwt-hieroglyph (Ibid, plan).
- 28 Ayrton et al., op. cit., pl.VI.
- 29 Ibid., pl.VII.
- 30 Ibid., 3.
- 31 Ibid., 1-5.
- 32 Kemp, JEA 52 (1966), 13-22.
- 33 See notes 28 and 29 above.
- 34 Emery, op. cit., 116.
- 35 Ricke, Beiträge Bf. 4. Bemerkungen, I, 27; 130, anm.163.
- 36 Lauer, MDAIK 25 (1969), 83.
- 37 Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos, 1-9; pls.I-XXI; PM,

- V, 54-55; Kemp, loc. cit.; Peet, The Cemeteries of Abydos, II, 30-35.
- 38 Jacquet-Gordon, op. cit., passim, especially 3-14; Junker, ZÄS 75 (1936), 69, note 30; Goedicke, MDAIK 21 (1966), 18; Fischer, Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C., 11, note 53; 73.
- 39 E.g. those of Sneferu, Fakhry, The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur, II, The Valley Temple, Part I, 19-58.
- 40 E.g. Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl. 19, 36; 58, 210; 67, 236; 68, 243; 69, 246, 249 and 251;
- 41 E.g. Ibid., III, 35, 114; 36, 118; 49, 182; 86, 327; 94, 366; 123, 737; 154, 878.
- 42 Petrie, op. cit., I, pl.IX, 12. For the exact provenance of this inscription see; Ibid., 15; pl.LX (over chamber 3).
- 43 Amelineau, Les Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos, 1895-1896, I, pl.32.
- 44 Petrie, op. cit., I, pl.VII, 10; II, pl.VIII, 9-11; Lacau and Lauer, La Pyramide à Degrés, IV, pl.12 (Nos.61 and 62); 15 (No. 74).
- 45 Wb., III, 5, 14-20; See also; Varille, Inscriptions concernant l'Architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou, 75-76.
- 46 Fakhry, op. cit., 14.
- 47 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.IVA, g.
- 48 Ibid., pls.XVIIIA, B; XCIIIA, A (twice); XCVA, A.
- 49 Ibid., pl.IVA, g.
- 50 Posener-Kriéger, Archives Neferirkare, I, 38-42.
- 51 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XLVA, C. See Posener-Krieger, op. cit., 312-314.
- 52 See note 4 above.
- 53 Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück Altägyptischer Annalen, pl.I, 3, 4 and 5.
- 54 Ibid., pl.I, 2 and 3. The same buildings are named on inscriptions from elsewhere, see; Kaplony, ZÄS 88 (1962), figs.13-23.
- 55 Ibid., 5-16.
- 56 Schäfer, op. cit., pl.II, the signs can not be distinguished on this photograph, see Ibid., 36 and 39; See also Urk., I, 244, 3; 248, 1.
- 57 British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, II, pls.2; 10; III, pl.38; Adam, ASAE 56 (1959), pl.9; Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, pl.35, 34; Urk., VII, 28, 16; Newberry, El-Bersheh, I, pl.XXXIII. For hwt in the plural, referring to the estates, see;

- British Museum, op. cit., II, pl.8; Urk., VII, 61, 3.
- 58 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 39, h, 5.
- 59 For another example which may refer to a cult-centre of Sesostriis I at Tôd, see; Bisson de la Roque, Tôd, 107.
- 60 Urk., IV, 28, 1.
- 61 Ayrton et al., op. cit., 35-37; pl.LI. For another copy of the stela see; Ibid., pl.LII.
- 62 E.g. Naville, The XIth. Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, III, pl. XVI, 1 (Tuthmosis I); Id., Deir El-Bahari, I, pl.XX (Hatshepsut); Urk., IV, 885, 7 (Tuthmosis III); Wb., Belegstellen, III, 1 (ref. 2, 5) (Amenhotep II); Naville, The XIth. Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, III, pls.VII 1; VIII, E (for a better photograph see; Hayes, Scepter of Egypt, II, fig.191) (Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun); Holscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 109, figs.92 and 93 (Horemheb); KRI, I, 332, 4 (Seti I); Quibell, The Ramesseum, 1896, pl.XI (Rameses II); Erichsen, op. cit., 13, 17 (Rameses III).
- 63 See; Helck, Materialen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, I, 9; 79-119; Gardiner, The Wilbour Papyrus, II, 13-14.
- 64 Urk., IV, 1796, 10.
- 65 Wb., III, 2, 7-8; Gardiner, Memphis, V, 35.
- 66 Schaedel, Die Listen des Grossen Papyrus Harris, 22-23; Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gaues, 28; 76; Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 62-63. There are, however, a number of temples which are referred to as hwt nt hhw m rnpwt in which evidence for the provision of a royal cult is not immediately obvious, although it may once have existed.
- 67 Černy, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 22-24. It is also of interest that the one exception to the rule that only royal tombs are called p3 hr, is the use of the term to describe the "tomb of the Apis," the Serapeum at Saqqara (Ibid., 14). The Serapeum is also called a hwt nt hhw m rnpwt (Brugsch, ZÄS 22 (1884), 116) indicating the high regard in which the Apis bull was held since expressions normally reserved for the tomb and cult-place of the king were applied to the burial-place of this sacred animal. The Serapeum was also described as a hwt-ntr (Vercoutter, Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 32).
- 68 Urk., IV, 108; 1; 131, 16; 132, 4 and 14; 447, 5 (quoted by the

Wb., III, 1, 11 as a use of hwt for the house of a private individual).

- 69 E.g. Urk., IV, 29, 10; 387, 1; 766, 2; 859, 2; 975, 8; 1796, 10;
2027, 10; Davies, N[orman] de G, El-Amarna, IV, 3; KRI, I, 42, 3;
171, 5 and 6; LD., III, 152, d; Van Dyk, Göttingen Miscellen 33
(1979), 23, 7; Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 3; 7, 7-9; 30, 3; 50, 8; 70,
10; 67, 4, 5 and 16; 81, 15; Chicago University, Oriental Institute,
Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amun, pl.III, E;
Id., The Bubastite Portal, pl.16, 40; Benson and Gourlay, The
Temple of Mut in Asher, 351; et al..
- 70 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 92; 539; Mariette, Dendérah, III, 23.
- 71 Since, however, the mortuary temples of the New Kingdom were also
dedicated to the chief god of the area, the use of ḥwt-ntr is not
inaccurate.
- 72 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 283+284.
- 73 Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 273. Ḥwt is also retained
in Coptic in place-names and in the names of the goddesses Nephtys
and Hathor (loc. cit) and in the noun ꜥꜣꜛ꜓ꜥꜣꜛ which is derived
from ḥwt-ntr (Ibid., 289; Ösing, Nominalbildung, 441).

hwt-ntr

Hwt-ntr is the standard term for an ancient Egyptian temple and was in continuous use from the First Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period, surviving into Coptic as $\gamma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ "monastery"²⁰ and also into more modern languages.²¹

The term is self-explanatory, designating the hwt of a god. The simple term, hwt, was originally the name of the cult place of the dead king and in the pre- and protodynastic periods the building was of a form identical to that depicted in the hieroglyphic sign, an enclosure with a fortified gateway.²² Since the cult centre of the king was called a hwt, it would have been a logical step to indicate that a temple was dedicated to a god other than the king by the addition of ntr to the basic term. It cannot be proved, however, that the cult centre of a god ever resembled the hwt-enclosure. The earliest known representations of cult-temples seem to show shrines built of wood and reeds²³ which are quite different in plan to the large brick enclosures which were erected for the mortuary cults of the kings. However, it is possible that these shrines were enclosed by a brick boundary wall, as were later dynastic temples, with the result that all that would be visible of the shrine itself from the

exterior would be the tops of the flagpoles, denoting the fact that the building was dedicated to the service of a god. It is, therefore, possible that the most frequently found writings of hwt-ntr in the Old Kingdom which enclose the ntr-sign within the hwt are an attempt to reproduce pictographically the temple as it was seen by the general public outside of the enclosure wall. This form of hwt-ntr was already established by the end of the First Dynasty, occurring on a seal of Ka-a from Saqqara.²⁴

The archaeological evidence for the plans of early temples is inconclusive as these temples, built of brick, wood and reeds, have not survived to any great extent.²⁵

By the time of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period hwt-ntr was firmly established as the name of a cultus temple and several examples, belonging to various gods, are known which cannot be identified with any extant remains.²⁶ One exception to this is a number of references to the Old Kingdom temple of Khentimentiu at Abydos.²⁷

Theoretically a royal mortuary temple was referred to as the hwt of a particular king or queen. However, these temples could also be called hwt-ntr. This is the case with the pyramid temple of Neferirkare to which references are made in the Abusir Papyri.²⁸ Other such temples of the Old Kingdom which are called hwt-ntr include those of Nebka,²⁹ Snoferu,³⁰ Menkaure,³¹ Shepseskaf³² and various queens.³³

In the Middle Kingdom hwt-ntr occurred frequently, but is, unfortunately, only rarely found in contexts which are of use in deciding on the physical nature of the building in question. One Twelfth Dynasty hwt-ntr which can be identified, although little of it now remains, is the Thoth temple at Hermopolis in which Amenemhat I erected a limestone gateway (sb3) after he had found the hwt-ntr in ruins.³⁴ The ruined temple was presumably one built during the Old Kingdom, and it is of interest to note that a graffito of the First Intermediate Period records that six hundred men were sent to bring stone from Hatnub to the hwt-ntr of Thoth, Lord of Eshmunain,³⁵ almost certainly a reference to the temple at Hermopolis. Other Middle Kingdom hwt-ntr which can be identified with extant remains include the Osiris temple at Abydos, at which work was undertaken by an official, Mentuhotep, in the reign of Sesostris I,³⁶ the temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre at Deir El-Bahari³⁷ and the Amun temple at Karnak.³⁸

Other temples are known only from titles³⁹ or epithets.⁴⁰

Most of the texts of the Middle Kingdom, in which hwt-ntr occurs, give more information about the rituals and services of the temple than they do about the actual lay out of the structure in question. This is well exemplified in the contracts arranged by Hapdjefa with the priesthood of the hwt-ntr of Wepwawet at Siut..⁴¹ The rituals of the temple are not of concern to this study but it can be noted that texts which bear on the subject of the functions of the temple tend to suggest that hwt-ntr itself was used primarily of the stone-built temple and did not refer to the entire temple temenos. For example, there are not infrequent references in the Middle Kingdom to the fact that statues of private individuals could be set up within the hwt-ntr to benefit from the reversion of offerings.⁴² These statues would have been within the main temple, not within the temenos. Similarly, the contracts of Hapdjefa mention the ceremony of lighting the torch in the hwt-ntr,⁴³ clearly, here the main temple building, while other texts give indications of the equipment used in the temple rituals.⁴⁴

These indications that hwt-ntr was used primarily for the actual temple building are supported by the evidence of later periods when detailed building texts were composed, often listing as elements of the hwt-ntr components which were found only within the main temple. This is well illustrated by a text of the Second Intermediate Period which records work carried out, by Sebekhotep IV, in the temple of Amun at Karnak. The construction work took place within the pr of Amun but the text shows that the hwt-ntr, said to contain a sb3, '3wy-r, a s3tw in the wsht w3dyt and "a second '3", was the stone temple itself.⁴⁵

This view is also supported by many other building texts of the New Kingdom, of which a representative selection only need be quoted here;

"I built his (Thoth's) great hwt-ntr in Tura Limestone, its sb3w were of alabaster of Hatnub and its '3w of Asian copper" ⁴⁶ (Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut).

"Menkheperre, he made for his father Dedwen, Lord of Nubia, and for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakaure, the making for them of a hwt-ntr in sandstone,⁴⁷ because my Majesty had found it (made) of brick and greatly destroyed." ⁴⁸ (Semna).

"Now my Majesty (Tuthmosis III) found this hwt-ntr built of brick, its wh3w and sb3w in wood, having fallen into ruin. My Majesty ordered the cord to be stretched over this hwt-ntr anew, it being erected in sandstone" ⁴⁹ (Temple of Ptah at Karnak).

"Menkheperre, he made as his monument for his father Khnum....the making for him of a hwt-ntr in sandstone" ⁵⁰ (Kumma).

"Now it was his Majesty (Amenhotep II) who beautified this hwt-ntr which his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, had built for Khnum.....it being constructed in stone as a work of eternity, the inbw around it in brick, the 3w in cedar worked with copper, the sb3w in granite" ⁵¹ (Elephantine).

"He made as his monument for his father Amun.....the making for him of a noble Hwt-ntr.....in sandstone, worked with gold..." ⁵² (Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes).

"I (Bakenkhons) made for him (Amun) a hwt-ntr.....at the upper sb3 of the pr of Amun. I erected obelisks within it in granite.." ⁵³ (Reign of Ramesses II, the Temple of Amun-Hearer-of-Prayers at Karnak).

"I (Ramesses III) built for you (Amun) your hwt-ntr within its ground, in limestone, its sb3w and htrw were of gold, mounted with copper..." ⁵⁴ (a Temple within a vineyard in the Delta).

All of these texts suggest that hwt-ntr is being used of the main stone temple building. Further evidence of this comes from the Punt reliefs of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari where the queen describes how she has carried out the commands of Amun "that Punt should be established for him, within his pr, that trees of Ta-Sety be planted upon both sides of his hwt-ntr, in his garden (hnty-š)" ⁵⁵ The picture conjured by such a description is of trees planted on either side of the stone temple, within the temple enclosure wall.

Similarly the inscription of Tuthmosis III on the Lateran obelisk describes its situation (at the eastern temple at Karnak) as "in the wb3 (temenos) of the hwt-ntr, in the neighbourhood of Ipet-Sut", ⁵⁶ while Tuthmosis I had previously erected two obelisks at the rwty hwt-ntr, ⁵⁷ the Fourth Pylon of the Amun temple. Since obelisks normally stood just in front of the entrance to the stone building, it is to this that hwt-ntr must refer.

There are many other references to the hwt-ntr of Amun at Karnak, the principal temple in Egypt in the New Kingdom. The hwt-ntr itself

contained treasure-stores as these could be more easily and efficiently guarded if they were situated within the main body of the temple. This is shown in a text of the reign of Hatshepsut, "I [sealed] the prwy-hd of all the precious stones in the hwt-ntr of Amun at Karnak, they being filled with his tribute up to their ceiling (h3t)."⁵⁹ Into these stores went taxes⁶⁰ and tribute from foreign campaigns.⁶¹ The administrative buildings of the Amun temple, as well as the homes of priests, storehouses for less-valuable articles, pens for the sacred animals, workshops, etc. would have been situated outside of the hwt-ntr, but within the temple enclosure wall. These would, however, have been regarded as "belonging to" the temple they served and it is interesting to note that the workshops of the Amun temple are described as is n k3t nw hwt-ntr 'I[mn]⁶² and the master craftsmen as hryw hmwt nw hwt-ntr.⁶³

Karnak forms a complex containing many temples, each of which could, in its own right, be called a hwt-ntr. This is the case with the temple of Amun-hearer-of-prayers, as described above, the festival complex of Tuthmosis III,⁶⁴ the temple of Khonsu,⁶⁵ the temple of Ramesses III in the forecourt,⁶⁶ the temple of Ptah,⁶⁷ the temple of Mut⁶⁸ and the temple of Monthu.⁶⁹ In addition hwt-ntr was also used of parts of the Amun temple. The granite sanctuary of Hatshepsut is called a hwt-ntr⁷⁰ as was the Hypostyle Hall.⁷¹ The Hatshepsut sanctuary was also described as a hwt, hm and sh-ntr⁷² so that it is clear that each of these terms was not being employed with any degree of accuracy. In the case of the Hypostyle Hall it was probably felt that such an imposing hall was worthy of a more bombastic name than one which could have been more accurately applied, such as iwnyt, w3dyt or waht. The use of hwt-ntr for this hall can be compared to the use of wb3 as a name for the same hall.







In general, however, hwt-ntr was not employed as a term for a part of a temple rather than an entire building, although it does also seem to have been used to describe the sanctuary of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari. In this case the term occurs on an inscription which was, perhaps, originally a graffito from the site. The text reads; "Fourth month of Akhet, day 16, beginning of opening the sb3 of the hwt-ntr in the mountain of Djeseru."⁷³ Hayes has suggested that the text "without much doubt records the initiation of the cutting of the central sanctuary of the temple."⁷⁴ In view of

the fact that the Karnak sanctuary was also called a hwt-ntr in the same reign, this is a reasonable assumption. Also at Deir El-Bahari, hwt-ntr was applied to the Hathor chapel⁷⁵ which was in fact a separate cult-centre with its own sanctuary⁷⁶ and could, therefore, be described as a hwt-ntr in the same way that the various temples within the Karnak complex were so described.

Another interesting use of this term, from the same reign, occurs with regard to a building called ntr mnw. On the statue of Hapusoneb this is referred to as hwt-ntr m inr hd nfr n 'nw M3-t-k3-r' ntr mnw "The hwt-ntr in limestone (named) Maatkare, ntr mnw".⁷⁷ However on the Karnak sanctuary of Hatshepsut a hwt of the same name is assigned to Tuthmosis III.⁷⁸ The change of royal name is not remarkable and these two buildings can almost certainly one and the same. A problem arises, however, with a third reference to ntr mnw, this time in a building text of Tuthmosis III from Karnak, where it is described as the iwnn ntr mnw m inr hd nfr n rwdt "the iwnn, ntr mnw, in sandstone".⁷⁹ The difference in building material has led Lacau and Chevrier⁸⁰ to assume that two buildings are involved, one made of limestone and another of sandstone. However, this apparent difference of material may not be significant since the Egyptians were not consistent in the use of the terminology for types of stone. As Harris has pointed out inf hd nfr n 'nw "is quite often applied by mistake to buildings of sandstone".⁸¹ This can be illustrated with regard to the festival complex of Tuthmosis III at Karnak, a sandstone building which is described variously as being made of inr hd nfr n 'nw,⁸² inr hd nfr n rwdt⁸³ and inr n rwdt.⁸⁴ Bearing this in mind, it is possible that the apparently limestone ntr mnw and the apparently sandstone ntr mnw were in fact the same building, probably actually made of sandstone. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify this building with any known remains⁸⁵ although the terminology used would suggest that it was an edifice of some size, serving as a cult centre in its own right. The text of Tuthmosis III indicates that ntr mnw was within the Karnak complex and it could have been one of the buildings cleared away to make way for later Eighteenth Dynasty constructions. The blocks from this structure could, therefore, yet be discovered, re-used elsewhere on the site.

In the reign of Akhenaten hwt-ntr occurs only rarely as ntr was

a term which was avoided since there was only supposed to be the one god, the Aten.⁸⁶ Accordingly the great temples of the Aten both at Thebes and at Amarna were usually described as hwt, rather than hwt-ntr. With the restoration of the cult of Amun the term was re-established⁸⁷ although it is noticeable by its absence from the "Restoration Stela" of Tutankhamun.⁸⁸ However the "Coronation Text" of Horemheb states sm3wy.n.f hwt-ntr (pl.) h3t idh r t3-sty msy.n.f 'hmw.sn nbw "He renovated the hwt-ntr from the marshes of the Delta to Nubia. He fashioned all their images."⁸⁹

One problem which relates to the use of hwt-ntr from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward concerns writings such as  and .⁹⁰ The former is a standard writing of the expression sh-ntr (q.v.) and it is often almost impossible to decide as to whether hwt-ntr or sh-ntr is intended. The second form, with the feminine ending is almost certainly to be taken as a writing of hwt-ntr and, for the purpose of this study, those examples of both writings which have been treated syntactically as feminine are regarded as forms of hwt-ntr rather than sh-ntr. In many cases, however, the lack of qualifying adjectives or verbal forms with feminine endings precludes any such decision. It ought to be possible to make a decision as to the reading of the group on the context in which it is being employed, since sh-ntr seems to have been used, primarily, for a shrine so that examples of  to describe an entire temple could be quite reasonably regarded as writings of hwt-ntr. However, it is, unfortunately true that the Egyptians were not consistently accurate in the usage of such terminology with the result that sh-ntr seems to have acquired a wider meaning in the New Kingdom, probably through confusion with hwt-ntr.⁹¹ Those writings which are treated as feminine and can, therefore, be taken as hwt-ntr include a form ⁹² which occurs in the inscription of Bakenkhons describing work carried out for Ramesses II in the temple of Amun-hearer-of-prayers at Karnak. Although apparently for sh-ntr, the term is used as if it is a feminine noun and, since it is employed to describe an entire temple, it is most likely to be a variant of hwt-ntr. Other texts which would seem to be writings of sh-ntr have parallels which use the regular writings of hwt-ntr⁹³ and on a stela of Ramesses I from Buhen, in which both ⁹⁴ and ⁹⁵ occur, both are, presumably, to be read as hwt-ntr. As an indication of the

difficulty of distinguishing the two terms, it can be noted that the Wörterbuch in one case gives a reference to the same text under both sh-ntr and hwt-ntr⁹⁶ while, in another case, a writing which would seem to be an example of hwt-ntr is quoted by the Wörterbuch as a writing of sh-ntr.⁹⁷

More usually, however, hwt-ntr continued to be spelled with the hwt-enclosure, leaving no doubts as to the reading of the term.

In the Nineteenth Dynasty hwt-ntr is used to describe many temples, for example those of Seti I at Abydos,⁹⁸ Kanais,⁹⁹ Memphis,¹⁰⁰ Redesieh,¹⁰¹ Gurna¹⁰² and Speos Artemidōs¹⁰³ and of Ramesses II at Karnak¹⁰⁴ and Luxor.¹⁰⁵

In Papyrus Harris I, the term is used of the temple of Re at Heliopolis,¹⁰⁶ the temple of Osiris at Abydos,¹⁰⁷ and the temple of Ramesses III within the temple of Amun at Karnak¹⁰⁸ in addition to being used as a term for temples in general (in the plural)¹⁰⁹ and to describe an unidentified temple of Amun in the Delta.¹¹⁰

The Pianchi stela records how the king was received into the great temple of Ptah at Memphis after his subjugation of that city. "His Majesty proceeded to the pr of Ptah and his purification was carried out in the pr-dw3. All the rituals which are performed for a king were performed for him. He entered into the hwt-ntr and a great offering was made for his father Ptah, South-of-his-Wall, of bulls, short-horned cattle, fowl and every good thing."¹¹¹ This text indicates, quite clearly, that the hwt-ntr was the stone-built temple itself and not the entire temenos. Similar ceremonies took place when the king reached Heliopolis; "(He) came and proceeded to the pr of Re, entering into the hwt-ntr in great praise"¹¹² and on the submission of Tefnakhte.¹¹³

Later, in the same dynasty, Monthuemhat records that he embellished the hwt-ntr (pl.) of Thebes¹¹⁴ while the last king of the dynasty, Tanutamun, mentions several important hwt-ntr on the "Dream Stela", including that of Khnum at Elephantine,¹¹⁵ of Ptah at Memphis¹¹⁶ and of Amun both at Karnak¹¹⁷ and at Napata.¹¹⁸ This last temple was still described as a hwt-ntr long after the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty had ended in Egypt.¹¹⁹




In the following dynasty there is an interesting reference to the Serapeum at Saqqara as "his (the Apis') hwt-ntr on the desert

of Ankhtawy." ¹²⁰ Strictly speaking hwt-ntr ought not to have been used to describe a burial place, however, the Serapeum was also a cult centre and the use of hwt-ntr indicates the importance of the cult of the Apis in the Late Period. ¹²¹

Like hwt, hwt-ntr describes a place in which a cult was celebrated so that, in theory at least, the building involved could have been of any form. In practice, however, Egyptian temples conformed to a basic plan which did not change greatly, so that most hwt-ntr did in fact resemble one another. The hwt-ntr itself was the actual temple building, situated within the temple-temenos (wb3) and under the administrative control of the god's estate (pr). Rarely the term could also be used of a part of a temple rather than the whole, although examples of this are exceptional.

- 1 Kaplony, Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit, III, pl. 80, 301; Urk., I, 7, 3; 26, 12; 26, 13; 241, 15; LD, II, 39, b; Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.XIIA, b; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pls.XXV, 14; XXIX; Urk., IV, 46, 2; Davies and Macadam, A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones, 506; Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 145, 2; KRI, I, 206, 6; Petrie, Memphis, II, pl.XXIV; Urk., III, 35, 9; 52, 9; Wb., Belegstellen, III, 2 (ref. 4, 14); Urk., II, 45, 12. This writing is also found in a plural form ([ḥwt-ntr]), Goedicke, Re-used blocks from Lisht, 19, No.5; Davies and Macadam, op. cit., 461; Leclant, Monthouemhat, 89. Although this writing of hwt-ntr is found from the First Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, it is not common after the Old Kingdom and examples from any particular dynasty are few in number. The "gateway" could, of course, be positioned in either of the bottom corners of the sign, as is the case with most variants of the term.
- 2 This is really only a variant of the first writing but the more accurate depiction of the form of the flagpole makes it worthy of note, Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück Altägyptischer Annalen, pl.I, 3.
- 3 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XLIA, 2; Fischer, JARCE 3 (1964), 26; Urk., I, 131, 6; 269, 14; 272, 8; 275, 3, 279, 10; 300, 3; 304, 8; 307, 16;
- 4 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls.VA, e; VIA, d; XIIIA, 1; XLVIIA, B; LXIIA, 26-27; Urk., I, 87, 14; 119, 8; 170, 17-18;

181, 13; II, 67, 3.

- 5 Urk., I, 37, 15; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II, 199; Urk., IV, 194, 6; KRI, I, 206, 9.
- 6 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, pl.14, No.13; Couyat and Montet, Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmat, pl.XXI (in the plural. The copy given of the text (Ibid., 81) has  instead of , the latter being the correct form).
- 7 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 39, g, 7; II, 100; 407; Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke, 74, 19 and 22; 76, 20; 93, passim; 94, 23; Urk., IV, 70, 5; 93, 3; 328, 6; 353, 3; 408, 12; 409, 8; 412, 10; 834, 9; 834, 12; 1156, 3; 1294, 13; Davies and Macadam, op. cit., 436; KRI, I, 124, 5; Vercoutter, Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 32; Roeder, ASAE 52 (1954), 414. An interesting, but damaged, plural form of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is  Leclant, op. cit., 88; pl.XXIV.
- 8 Jéquier, Le Mastabat Faraoun, pl.XII; Newberry, op. cit., II, pl. XXXVI; Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten, III, 138; pl.155 (dated by Borchardt to the Thirteenth Dynasty but by PM, I (II), 784 to the time of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre, presumably because the prenomen of the king appears in the text. Since, however, the statue was intended for the king's mortuary temple at Deir El-Bahari it need not be contemporaneous with his reign as this particular temple continued to function long after the death of the king); Sethe, op. cit., 98, passim; Urk., IV, 43, 4; 56, 3; 186, 2; 212, 1; 213, 14; 386, 4; 429, 6; 476, 7; 768, 13; 816, 15; 858, 8; 882, 2; 932, 4; 978, 15; British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, VI, pl.47, 4; Varille, Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou, 8; Davies, El-Amarna, VI, pl.XVI, lower register, 11; KRI, I, 43, 2; 65, 5; 129, 14; 129-135, passim; 205, 16; 206, 2, 3; LD, III, 140, d, 1.
- 9 Sethe, op. cit., 72, 19; 97, 3; 96, 14-21; Urk., VII, 1, 15; 17, 4; 42, 16; 58, 9; Naville, The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, I, pl.XXIV; De Buck, Reading Book, 96, 5; Roeder, MDAIK 3 (1932), 28, fig.13; Mariette, Abydos, II, 30, 39; Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), pl.IX, 3; Urk., IV, 738, 10; 765, 12-15; 1187, 11; 1294, 14; Davies and Macadam, op. cit., 461; Badawy, Miscellanea Wilbouriana, I, pl.5, fig.5; Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca,

- pl.X, 3, recto, 1; Champollion, Notices Descriptives, II, 85; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 6, 3; 10, 10; 30, 3; 34, 15; 67, 16; 70, 10; Urk., III, 38, 11; 63, 3; 65, 2; 65, 10; 65, 12; 66, 2; 67, 12; 92, 8.
- 10 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 154; 155; Sethe, op. cit., 96, 4; Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199, 11; pl.XVII, 11; Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 267, 418; 270, 424; Urk., IV, 43, 11; 165, 3; 388, 9; 765, 7; 823, 5; 1056, 8; 1648, 7; 2066, 14; KRI, I, 2, 4.
- 11 Naville, loc. cit.; KRI, I, 206, 8 (with Δ within \square); 124, 5 (grouped thus $\begin{smallmatrix} \Delta \\ \square \end{smallmatrix}$).
- 12 Naville, loc. cit..
- 13 Urk., IV, 100, 15.
- 14 Ibid., IV, 298, 16.
- 15 Ibid., IV, 301, 7.
- 16 KRI, I, 216, 11 (after hwt-ntr is the name of the temple, that of Seti I at Gurna).
- 17 Kuentz, La Face sud du Massif est du Pylône de Ramses II à Louxor, pl.XXI (enclosed within the sign is the name of the temple of Ramses II at Luxor. For a similar example from the temple of Seti I at Gurna see; LD, III, 150).
- 18 KRI, I, 3, 2; Wb. Belegstellen, III, 2 (ref.4, 11); Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Ramses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amun, pl.I, pl.77, A.
- 19 Brunner, Die Südlichen Raum des Tempels von Kuxor, pl.153, Scene XVIII/155 (all the scenes on the masterplan of the west wall (pl. 19) are wrongly numbered); Plantikow-Münster, ZAS 95 (1969), 119, abb.1, b, 5; LDT, I, 15; Wb. Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6). These writings have been included here because they are either treated as feminine nouns or have parallels which are read hwt-ntr, see further above p.183 and below, under sh-ntr, p.254.
- 20 Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 289; Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 692a; Qsing, Nominalbildung, 441.
- 21 Roquet, BIFAO 71 (1972)², 96-117.
- 22 See above, hwt p.165-167.
- 23 See, for example, the temple of Neith (Petrie, Royal Tombs, II, pls.III, a; X) and the shrines depicted on archaic seals (Kaplony, op. cit., III, pls.19, 37 and 38; 40-45). For a review of these

early temples see; Jéquier, BIFAO 6 (1908), 25-41.

24 Kaplony, op. cit., III, pl.80, 301.

25 Very few temple remains which can be positively dated to the Archaic Period have been excavated. There was an early building on the site of the Osiris temple at Abydos (Petrie, Abydos, II, 7-9; pls.L; II) and scanty remains of archaic structures were found at Hierakonpolis (Quibell and Green, Hierakonpolis, II, 7-8; pl.LXXII). The "temple primitif" at Medamoud consists of an enclosure bounded by a polygonal wall, within which were two artificial mounds (Robichon and Varille, Description sommaire du Temple primitif de Médamoud, 1-2; Plan.)

26 Urk., I, 26, 12 and 43; 37, 15; 87, 14; 131, 6; 241, 15 and 18; 269, 14; 300, 3; 304, 18; 305, 1 and 11; Fischer, loc. cit..

27 Urk., I, 119, 8; 170, 17; 279, 10. For plans of the Old Kingdom temple at Abydos see; Petrie, op. cit., pls.LII-LIII.

28 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls.VA, e; XIIA, D; XIII A, 1; XLIA, 2; XLVIIA, B; LXIIA, 26-27; LXXA, A, 5.

29 LD, II, 39, b.

30 Urk., I, 7, 3.

31 Ibid., I, 275, 3.

32 Jéquier, Le Mastabat Faraoun, pl.XII.

33 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.VIA, d; Urk., I, 272, 8; 307, 16.

34 Roeder, loc. cit..

35 Anthes, loc. cit..

36 Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 154; 155. For the same temple see also; Ibid., II, 199.

37 Borchardt, loc. cit.; Naville, loc. cit.;

38 Naville, loc. cit..

39 E.g. Urk., VII, 17, 4; 42, 16; 58, 9; Couyat and Montet, loc. cit.; Newberry, op. cit., I, pl.XXIII; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., I, 39, g, 7; II, 407.

40 Urk., VII, 1, 15; Newberry, op. cit., II, pl.XXXVI.

41 Sethe, op. cit., 93-96, passim.

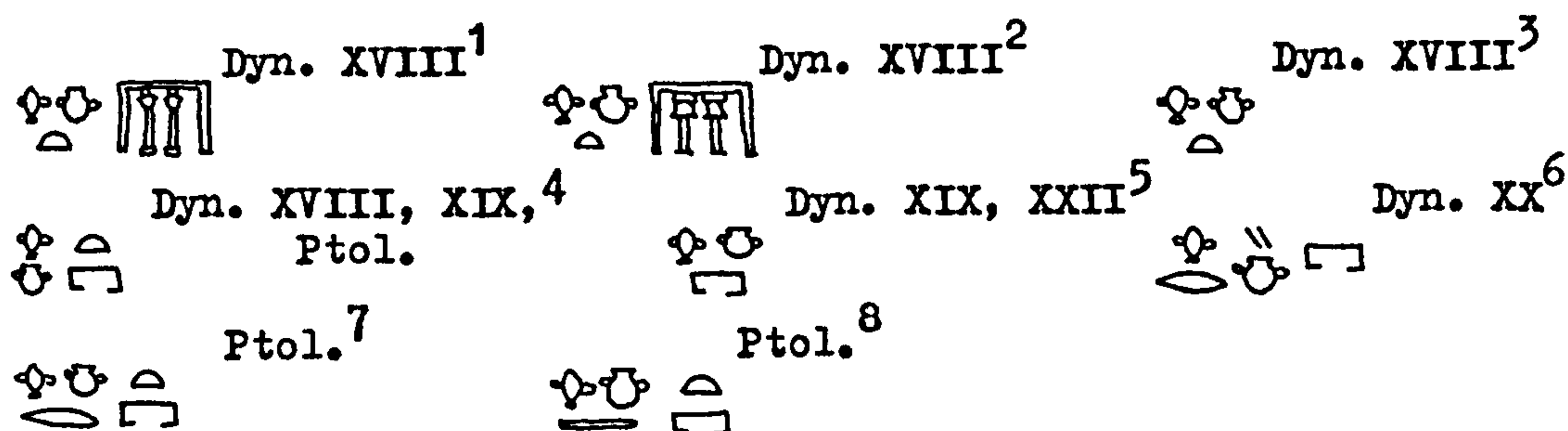
42 Newberry, op. cit., I, pls.XXV, 14; XXIX; Sethe, op. cit., 74, 22; 96, 4.

43 Ibid., 93, 4.

- 44 Ibid., 96, 14-21; 97, 3; Lange and Schäfer, op. cit., II, 100.
- 45 Helck, loc. cit..
- 46 Urk., IV, 388, 9 (Gardiner, JEA 32 (1946), pl.VI, 27).
- 47 'Inr ḥd nfr n t3 sty. As Caminos has pointed out (The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen, I, 20, note 6) all the temples (Buhen, Semna and Kumma) which are described as being made of this material are built of sandstone. Harris, however, (Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals, 69) prefers to regard the term as a name for "limestone from the neighbourhood of Aswan". The only rocks in the vicinity of Aswan are sandstone and granite.
- 48 Urk., IV, 197, 16.
- 49 Ibid., IV, 765, 12-15.
- 50 Ibid., IV, 212, 7. See note 47 above. This temple is also described as being made of inr ḥd nfr n š3't, another name for sandstone (Harris, op. cit., 72).
- 51 Urk., IV, 1294, 14-1295, 6. Compare the almost identical text of the Amada stela, Ibid., IV, 1294, 13-1295, 5.
- 52 Ibid., IV, 1648, 6-9.
- 53 Plantikow-Münster, loc. cit..
- 54 Erichsen, op. cit., 10, 10.
- 55 Urk., IV, 353, 3. Compare also Ibid., IV, 328, 6; 346, 16.
- 56 Ibid., IV, 584, 10.
- 57 Ibid., IV, 93, 3.
- 58 E. g. Ibid., IV, 43, 11; 165, 3; 298, 16; 768, 13; 769, 17; 978, 15; 1056, 8; 1156, 3; 2066, 14; Varille, loc. cit.; Wb. Belegstellen, III, 2 (ref.4, 14); et al..
- 59 Urk., IV, 429, 6.
- 60 Ibid., 186, 2.
- 61 Ibid., 70, 5.
- 62 Ibid., 932, 4.
- 63 Ibid., 933, 15.
- 64 Ibid., 858, 8 and 11; 860, 2.
- 65 Champollion, op. cit., II, 234; 235,
- 66 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, op. cit., I, pl.77, A and D.
- 67 See above p.180.
- 68 Urk., IV, 412, 10.

- 69 Varille, Karnak, I, pls.XXIII, 17; XXXIV, Inventaire 808.
- 70 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 267, 418; 270, 424. For a discussion of this see; Ibid., I, 48, 59.
- 71 KRI, I, 201, 4 and 15; 202, 8 and 13; 203, 7, 13 and 16; 205, 16; 206, 3 and 6-9.
- 72 Lacau and Chevrier, loc. cit.. See also st wrt, below, p.204.
- 73 Hayes, loc. cit..
- 74 Ibid., 32 (in his note 2, Hayes gives, as another example of hwt-ntr meaning "sanctuary" a reference to Urk., IV, 427. This is the "Northampton Stela" of Djehuty which refers to the "granite" sanctuary of Hatshepsut. The term in question is, however, sh-ntr, not hwt-ntr).
- 75 Urk., IV, 301, 7; 308, 7.
- 76 PM, II, 350-353; pl.XXXVI, 1.
- 77 Urk., IV, 476, 7.
- 78 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 84, 138.
- 79 Urk., IV, 166, 8.
- 80 Lacau and Chevrier, loc cit..
- 81 Harris, op. cit., 69.
- 82 Urk., IV, 855, 17; 858, 14; 859, 3; 863, 5.
- 83 Ibid., IV, 856, 9.
- 84 Ibid., IV, 856, 16; 857, 7; 858, 11.
- 85 For discussions of the identity of ntr mnw see; Otto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gases, 23; Lacau and Chevrier, loc. cit..
- 86 Smith, R., The Akhenaten Temple Project, I, 61. Hwt-ntr does occur in one variant of the shorter hymn to the Aten, see; Davies, El-Amarna, IV, pl.XXXIII; VI, pl.XVI. Another variant has šwt-r' (Ibid., I, pl.XXXVII, see also under šwt-r' below p.264.)
- 87 In the reign of Tutankhamun, for example, see; Urk., IV, 2066, 14; 2079, 16.
- 88 Ibid., IV, 2025-2032. At the beginning of the stela, where the text lists the temples and shrines which have fallen into ruin, the following terms occur; r-pr, hm, iwnn, and hwt.
- 89 Ibid., IV, 2119, 13.
- 90 See notes 17 and 18 above.
- 91 See further under sh-ntr below p.254-255.
- 92 Plantikow-Münster, loc. cit..

- 93 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6); Compare LDt., I, 15 with Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, pl.XXXIX, 2 and see; Yoyotte, Kêmi 14 (1957), 84, note 2.
- 94 KRI, I, 2, 14.
- 95 Ibid., I, 3, 2.
- 96 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 2 (ref.4, 11) and III, 129 (ref.465, 5).
- 97 Ibid., III, 129 (ref.465, 6).
- 98 KRI, I, 129, 14; 129-135, passim.
- 99 Ibid., I, 65, 5.
- 100 Ibid., 124, 5.
- 101 LD., III, 140, d, 1.
- 102 KRI, I, 216, 11.
- 103 Ibid., 43, 2.
- 104 Plantiköw-Munster, loc. cit..
- 105 Abd El-Razik, op. cit., 145, 2; 147, 1.
- 106 Erichsen, op. cit., 30, 3; 34, 15.
- 107 Ibid., 67, 16.
- 108 Ibid., 6, 3.
- 109 Ibid., 70, 10.
- 110 Ibid., 10, 10.
- 111 Urk., III, 35, 6-11.
- 112 Ibid., III, 38, 11.
- 113 Ibid., III, 52, 9.
- 114 Leclant, Monthuemhat, 88; pl.XXIV.
- 115 Urk., III, 65, 2.
- 116 Ibid., III, 67, 12.
- 117 Ibid., III, 65-66.
- 118 Ibid., III, 63, 13.
- 119 Ibid., III, 92, 8 and 10; 93, 7 and 12; 103, 13; 104, 12 and 16; 105, 7; 111, 7, 12 and 15; 117, 5; 120, 12.
- 120 Vercoutter, loc. cit..
- 121 See also under hwt, p.175, n.67.

hrt-ib

This term has been discussed in detail by Barguet who regards the hrt-ib of a temple as being the hall immediately before the sanctuary, being preceded by either a barque-shrine (in dynastic temples), or by a "hall of offerings" (in Ptolemaic temples).⁹ The evidence for the location of the hrt-ib comes from the Ptolemaic temples at Edfu and Denderah. In both of these the hall between the "hall of offerings" and the shrine is called wsht hrt-ib.¹⁰ However, in both temples two other rooms are also known as hrt-ib. These are side-rooms opening off the hypostyle hall and serving as corridors through to the ambulatory.¹¹ As Haeny has pointed out,¹² a hrt-ib should, therefore, be regarded as a "salle intermédiaire" rather than a "Mittelsaal".

Barguet, however, assumes that the position of the wsht hrt-ib in the Ptolemaic temples reflects its position in dynastic temples, as a major hall between the barque-shrine and the sanctuary. Unfortunately the only dynastic hrt-ib which can be identified is the Festival complex of Tuthmosis III at Karnak. This is also the earliest known use of the term, which occurs in the dedication texts of the building. It is possible that hrt-ib refers only to the hypostyle hall of the complex (the term being twice determined with the "columned hall" sign as shown above), but the evidence of the texts would suggest that hrt-ib is to be equated with sh-mnw which is the name of the entire building.

".....making for him (Amun) a noble hrt-ib anew in limestone (sic.)." ¹³

".....erecting for him a hrt-ib anew in sandstone." ¹⁴

".....erecting for him sh-mnw anew in sandstone." ¹⁵

".....erecting for him a noble hrt-ib, sh-mnw, anew." ¹⁶

The same dedicatory-texts also call the building a hwt-ʿ3t ¹⁷ and a hwt-ntr. ¹⁸

Since the Festival complex clearly does not occupy a similar position at Karnak to that of a wsbt hrt-ib in a Ptolemaic temple, Barguet suggests that Tuthmosis III was copying, in the basic plan of the complex, the lay-out of the now-destroyed buildings in the "Middle-Kingdom court" at Karnak.¹⁹ He regards the hypostyle hall of the Festival complex as the equivalent of the Middle-Kingdom hrt-ib. The evidence for this theory is largely circumstantial, resting on Barguet's own suggested reconstruction of the plan of the area of the "Middle-Kingdom court".²⁰ In any case the use of hrt-ib in the dedicatory texts of Tuthmosis III would suggest that the entire complex, and not just the hypostyle hall, was intended.

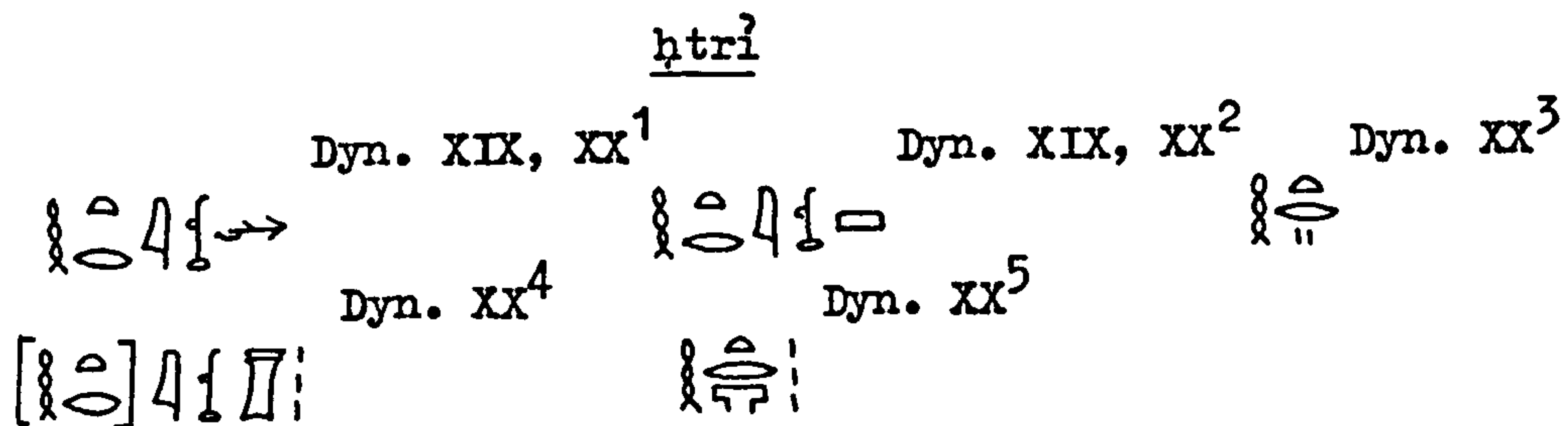
It is unfortunate that other occurrences of the term from the dynastic period are few in number, and that their nature is such that they cannot be identified with any particular buildings or halls.

An Eighteenth-Dynasty statue of the goddess Satet, from Elephantine, gives her the epithet ntrt n hrt-ib wr(t),²¹ and Sokar is described, in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, as m hrt-ib.²² The Festival complex of Tuthmosis III is mentioned again in the epithet of a priest of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, "one who enters to the hrt-ib of Amun, one who enters to sh-mnw." ²³ This would seem to suggest that there was another hrt-ib at Karnak besides the Festival complex, and this is also indicated in one of the Twentieth-Dynasty Tomb-Robbery Papyri. The tomb of king Sekhemreshedtawy Sobekemsaf of the Second Intermediate Period was violated, the king being described as having "his (the king's) monuments resting in his (Amun's) hrt-ib to this day." ²⁴ Statues of this king must have been erected in a hrt-ib of the Middle-Kingdom temple.

It would seem, therefore, that there must have been a hall, or court, in the temple of Amun at Karnak, other than the Festival complex, which was regarded as being a hrt-ib, probably in the region of the "Middle-Kingdom court". It is not, however, possible, on the evidence available, to be quite as definite concerning the location of a hrt-ib within a temple as Barguet is. The fact that the term was used of "corridor-rooms" in the temples of Edfu and Denderah, would suggest that it was merely a term for an intermediate hall or building which gave access to another.

¹ Urk., IV, 855, 16.

- 2 Ibid., IV, 856, 8.
- 3 Ibid., IV, 857, 12; 858, 2.
- 4 Weigall, ASAE 8 (1907), 48; KRI, I, 171, 14; Piehl, Inscriptions, II, 93; Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.59, c; 64, d; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 388; De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36 No.72 (July 1961), 312; 313.
- 5 Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, II, 57.
- 6 Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.III (B.M.10221), 6, 4.
- 7 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl.8, d.
- 8 Chassinat, op. cit., II, 63.
- 9 Barguet, Temple, 172, note (2); 323-327; Id., BIFAO 52 (1953), 152-155.
- 10 Mariette, op. cit., I, pl.5; De Wit, op. cit., No.71 (January 1961), 68.
- 11 Ibid., No.72 (July 1961), 312; 313; Mariette, loc. cit..
- 12 Haeny, Beiträge Bf. 9, Basilikale Anlagen, 12.
- 13 Urk., IV, 855, 16-17.
- 14 Ibid., IV, 856, 8-9.
- 15 Ibid., IV, 857, 6-7.
- 16 Ibid., IV, 858, 2.
- 17 Ibid., IV, 856, 16.
- 18 Ibid., IV, 858, 8 and 11.
- 19 Barguet, op. cit., 154-155; pl.II.
- 20 This comparison seems to be based solely on the fact that three granite door-sills were found in situ in the "Middle-Kingdom court", suggesting to Barguet, the three aligned rooms on the axis of the Festival complex. (Barguet, Temple, 323; PM., II, 108).
- 21 Weigall, loc. cit..
- 22 KRI, I, 171, 14.
- 23 Legrain, loc. cit..
- 24 Peet, loc. cit.. The Wb., III, 138, 21, took this to be a reference to a hrt-ib in the king's tomb, but this is certainly incorrect.



Htri appears to have been confined in use to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties and occurs most often in the plural form. Janssen regards htri as a term for "both jambs" ⁶ while Christophe considers that the term denotes the "chambranle", the two jambs and the lintel. ⁷ This assessment is made from the evidence of Papyrus Harris I in which htriw (always in the plural) is used for the door-frame, in conjunction with a term for the door-leaves which is usually sb3 but is, occasionally, tri. The htriw and the sb3w could be made of the same material, wood ⁸ or a precious metal ⁹ or of different materials. For example the pr of Wepwawet at Siut was surrounded by a sbtj with "great htriw of stone and sb3w of cedar". ¹⁰ On those occasions where htriw occurs with tri the two elements are of different materials. The pr of Osiris at Abydos is provided with a sbtj with "htriw of stone and triw of cedar". ¹¹

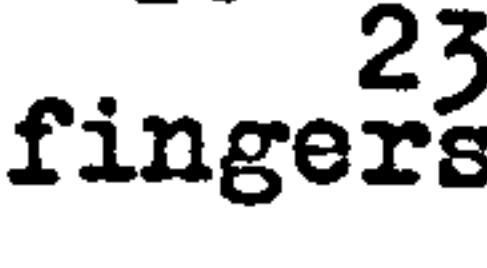
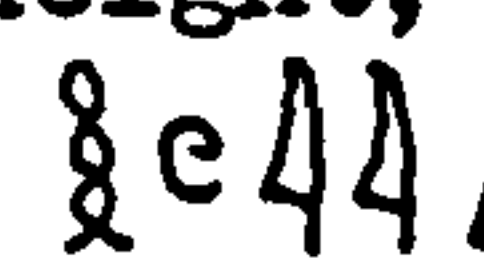

In this papyrus, ¹² therefore, it would certainly seem that htriw, the plural form, describes all the elements which made up a door-frame, the jambs and the lintel, and this is probably also the case with other examples of the word.

In the tomb-robbery papyrus, B.M. 10053, thieves describe how they went to the pr n nwb of the Ramesseum and removed the gilding from the htriw ¹³ while an inscription of the High Priest of Amun, Roma-Roy, at Karnak records that a structure was found in ruins, the htriw of wood being missing, and was restored with htriw of sandstone, the determinatives used for the two writings of the term reflecting the different materials involved. ¹⁴ Similarly work carried out, also at Karnak, by the High Priest Amenhotep, replaced htriw [of wood(?)] with examples in sandstone. ¹⁵ Other occurrences of this term in building texts include htriw of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu ¹⁶ and of Ramesses IX at Karnak. ¹⁷

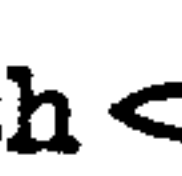



In the context of a private house "htriw of limestone, inscribed

and carved with a chisel" ¹⁸ were erected in the "fine bhn" which the official Raia built in the Twentieth Dynasty.

The few occasions when htr² is found in the singular form are all on ostraca. A list of funerary equipment on Ost. Gardiner 136 includes p3 htr²n t3 m^ch^ct "the htr² of the tomb" ¹⁹ presumably, in this case, the htr² was regarded as one entity rather than as the sum of its components. Other writings of the term in the singular occur in Ost. Deir El-Med²neh 319 ²⁰ and on the unpublished ostraca, Berlin 11260 ²¹ and IFAO 764. ²²

One problematical writing of htr² is found on another ostrakon, Deir El-Medineh 1012, which contains a copy of several lines of P. Anastasi I. When describing an obelisk the papyrus states "its pyramidion (bnbn) of one cubit in height, its  of two fingers" ²³. The ostrakon, however, replaces  with . ²⁴ Gardiner translated the former as "point(?)" ²⁵ a not unreasonable suggestion in view of the context and the determinative involved. The reading of htr² on the ostrakon is quite certain and can only be interpreted as an error on the part of the writer of the ostrakon.

Since the meaning of htr²w in Papyrus Harris I is "door-frame" rather than just "jambs" this is probably the true meaning of the term whether it is used in the singular or the plural.

- 1 Lefebvre, Inscriptions concernant les grands Prêtres d'Amon, Romê-Roy et Amenhotep, pl.I, 9; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 10, 11; 6, 7 (with  replaced by ); Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.IX, 5; Černy, Catalogue des Ostraca hieratiques non littéraires de Deir El-Médineh, IV, pl.24, 319, recto, 2.
- 2 The writing with this determinative is found only in the plural, at least so far as published examples are concerned. It may occur in the singular in the, as yet unpublished, Ost. IFAO 764 (Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period, 392); Lefebvre, loc. cit.; Erichsen, op. cit., 5, 10 (with  replaced by ); 7, 13 (as 5, 10); 50, 11; 67, 1; 68, 4; 68, 13-14; 70, 2; 94, 8; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 110, 16; Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pls.XX, passim; XXI, 3, verso, 18-21.
- 3 As given by Mariette, Karnak, pl.40, 4, Brugsch, Thesaurus, 1323, has

- 4 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, IV, pl.233.
- 5 Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966), pl.II.
- 6 Janssen, op. cit., 391.
- 7 Christophe, Melanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 23.
- 8 Erichsen, op. cit., 94, 8.
- 9 Ibid., 5, 10; 6, 7; 9, 16; 10, 11. Probably, in fact, gilding on stone or wooden frames.
- 10 Ibid., 68, 13-14, Compare also 50, 11; 70, 12.
- 11 Ibid., 68, 4. Compare also 67, 1; 67, 13.
- 12 Ösing (Nominalbildung, 635) has taken htr¹-sb₃ to be a compound noun meaning "door-post". The occasional reversal of the two terms and their separation when different materials are involved show that this compound is in fact a writing of "the door-frame (htr¹w) and the door-leaves (sb₃w)". See further under tw₃, below p.276.
- 13 Peet, op. cit., II, pl.XX, 2-XXI, 3, passim.
- 14 Lefebvre, loc. cit..
- 15 Sauneron, loc. cit..
- 16 Chicago University, loc. cit..
- 17 Mariette, loc. cit..
- 18 Gardiner, loc. cit..
- 19 Černy and Gardiner, loc. cit..
- 20 Černy, loc. cit..
- 21 See, Janssen, op. cit., 391.
- 22 Ibid., 392.
- 23 Gardiner, Egyptian Hieratic Texts, I, 54, 7-8.
- 24 Posener, Catalogue des Ostraca hieratiques littéraires de Deir El-Médinah, I, pl.7, 10.
- 25 Gardiner, op. cit., 17*.
- 26 Posener, op. cit., pl.7A, 10.
- 27 Janssen gives the etymology of htr¹ as being derived from the noun for "twins" and, therefore, prefers to interpret the building element as a term for the two jambs alone. He compares it to htr "a span of oxen" (Janssen, op. cit., 391). However, both these terms are, one would think, derived from the verbal stem htr "to tie together" (Wb., III, 202, 2-3) indicating that it is the notion of the combination of various elements (jambs and lintel or various animals) that is inherent in terms formed from this stem.

the Hb-sd ceremony although its exact interpretation is uncertain. The king may be visiting a shrine or founding one. Whatever the nature of the scene it is, perhaps, possible to see in this writing of "the shrine of Horus of Letopolis" an origin for the hm-shrine which, however, later became indistinguishable from other shrine-words.

The earliest recognised occurrence of the term, in the Pyramid Texts, is, unfortunately, not connected with either Letopolis of Horus but with Imtet, the goddess of Imet (Nebeshah) in the Eastern Delta.²⁷ "Imtet grasps my (the king's) hand for herself in her hm, in her secret place which the god made for her".²⁸ It would seem likely, therefore, that, by the Sixth Dynasty, whatever the type of shrine originally involved, hm had become a word for a shrine in general.

From the Eighteenth Dynasty hm, often in the plural, occurs in non-specific contexts, referring to cult-centres which cannot be identified.

"I sanctified their hmw for the future. I embellished their r-prw."²⁹

"You have purified the hmw and the r-prw" (speech of Thoth to Seti I).³⁰



".....the hmw being enlarged, the favourites of all the gods, each one in the iwnn which he has desired."³¹

The restoration stela of Tutankhamun tells of the parlous state of the temples and shrines of the gods following the reign of Akhenaten. "Now when his majesty arose as king, the r-prw of the gods and goddesses had fallen into ruin, their hmw had fallen into decay, their iwnnw were as if they had never existed and their hwt (pl.) were a trodden path."³² After the king had restored the cult-places, "the gods and the goddesses are joyful, the possessors of hmw rejoice."³³

Other texts refer to specific hmw but these can not be identified.³⁴ In one case the location of the hm is known but the building itself has not survived. This is the temple of Hathor at Cusae, which was restored by Hatshepsut. "The hwt-ntrhad fallen into ruin, the earth had swallowed up its noble hm and children danced on its tp-hwt."³⁵ This text would suggest that the hm was a part of the temple (hwt-ntr), perhaps the sanctuary itself. This is supported by comparison with one of the few hmw which can be identified.

The sanctuary which Hatshepsut erected in the temple of Amun at Karnak is described variously as a hwt, hwt-ntr, st wrt, sh-ntr as well

as a hm in two separate texts. One of these is on a block from the sanctuary itself, inscribed for Tuthmosis III when he was still co-ruler with Hatshepsut. "He made as his monument for his father the erecting for him of a noble hm (called) 'Imn-st-ib, in granite and hard stone of the Red Mountain (quartzite)." ³⁶ The second example comes from the main Amun temple. "Now my majesty erected for him a noble hm (called) 'Imn-st-ib.....in hard stone of the Red Mountain, its interior worked with electrum." ³⁷ The name, 'Imn-st-ib, is definitely that of the Hatshepsut sanctuary so that there can be no doubt about the identification of this particular hm.

Another hm is also mentioned on one of the blocks from this sanctuary, in a list of temples; . ³⁸ It is possible that this hm is to be equated with another, the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu. Hatshepsut built a temple here on the site of an earlier one and Tuthmosis III later replaced the front part of the queen's building with a peripteral chapel containing a barque shrine. ³⁹ This structure the king described as  "a sacred hm in sandstone," ⁴⁰ The temple on this site was dedicated to Amun dsr-st ⁴¹ and the full name of the Tuthmoside temple seems to have been (Mn-hpr-r) 'Imn-dsr-st. ⁴² Since Tuthmosis III described the temple as a hm dsr it is not unreasonable to suggest that the hwt called hm dsr, named on the sanctuary block, might be the name of the temple of Hatshepsut on the same site. ⁴³

In the temple of Seti I at Abydos, the chapels of Isis, ⁴⁴ Horus ⁴⁵ and Osiris ⁴⁶ are each described as hm, as is the hypostyle hall of the temple of the same king at Qurna. ⁴⁷




Hm continued to be used, although sporadically, into the Ptolemaic period but it does not seem to have been used in demotic, nor to have recurred in Coptic.

Like so many terms, hm would have had a specific meaning originally, probably a Lower Egyptian shrine connected with Letopolis. However the meaning of the term broadened so that it could be used of any kind of shrine or chapel and, later still, of a hall within a temple.

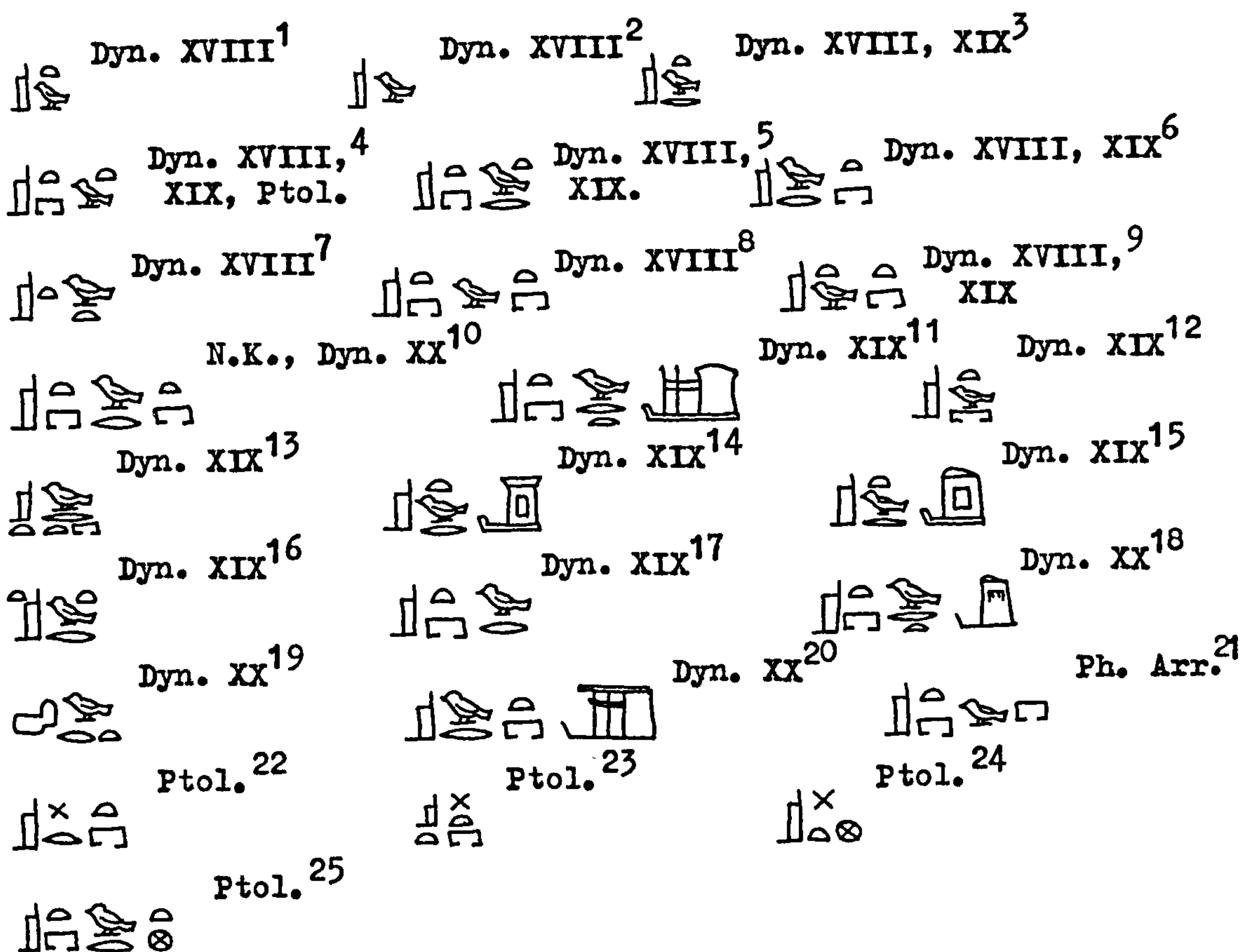
1 Pyr., 1139b.

2 Loc. cit..

3 Urk., IV, 96, 4; 102, 1.

- 4 Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 77, 124.
- 5 Ibid., 261, 411.
- 6 Urk., IV, 383, 17; 1411, 6 (with the first two signs reversed).
- 7 Ibid., IV, 386, 5; KRI, I, 165, 16 (partially restored); 177, 1.
- 8 Urk., IV, 881, 10; 1690, 6 (with the first two signs reversed).
- 9 Ibid., 167, 1.
- 10 Ibid., 576, 10. Faulkner (Con. Dict., 191) takes this to be a separate term, hm, "sacred image", for which he cites only this example. This is possible although it could also be a writing of hm "shrine" with a false determinative.
- 11 Urk., IV, 1071, 7; Badawy, Miscellanea Wilbouriana, I, 5, fig.4; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.XIX, e;
- 12 Urk., IV, 1152, 17; 1329, 10; KRI, I, 161, 1; 158, 11.
- 13 Urk., IV, 1690, 6; 2027, 6.
- 14 Ibid., IV, 1946, 11.
- 15 Ibid., IV, 2030, 14.
- 16 KRI, I, 197, 5; similarly, with  for  and  restored, 216, 15.
- 17 Ibid., I, 214, 12.
- 18 Ibid., I, 190, 11; V, 116, 10.
- 19 Urk., III, 35, 2.
- 20 Ibid., II, 46, 14.
- 21 Chassinat, Edfou, II, 9.
- 22 Urk., II, 186, 8; Chassinat, op. cit., I, 285.
- 23 Mariette, Denderah, I, pls.46, a, 4; 54, b (bottom).
- 24 Wb., III, 280, 15; Gauthier, Dictionnaire Géographique, IV, 175; Montet, Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne, I, 50-51.
- 25 Firth and Quibell, The Step Pyramid, II, pl.41.
- 26 Montet, op. cit., I, 51-52.
- 27 Ibid., I, 180-182.
- 28 Pyr., 1139b.
- 29 Urk., IV, 102, 1.
- 30 KRI, I, 190, 11.
- 31 Urk., IV, 383, 17.
- 32 Ibid., IV, 2027, 6.
- 33 Ibid., IV, 2030, 14.
- 34 E.g., Ibid., IV, 1152, 17; 1329, 10.

- 35 Ibid., IV, 386, 5.
- 36 Lacau and Chevrier, loc. cit..
- 37 Urk., III, 167, 1.
- 38 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 77, 124.
- 39 PM., II, pl.XLV, 1.
- 40 Urk., IV, 881, 10.
- 41 See; Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 46; Helck, Materialen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, 74, D, 1.
- 42 Urk., IV, 882, 3.
- 43 Lacau and Chevrier (loc. cit.) suggest no identification for hm dsr, neither do Dtto, Topographie des Thebanischen Gauces, 25 (wrongly quoted as 27 by Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 77, note 6) and Helck, op. cit., 53, 5.
- 44 KRI, I, 158, 11.
- 45 Ibid., I, 161, 1.
- 46 Ibid., I, 165, 16.
- 47 Ibid., I, 214, 12; 216, 15.

st wrt

The original, and main, meaning of st wrt²⁶ is a "throne" of either a king or a god.²⁷ In the early Eighteenth Dynasty st wrt seems to have been transferred to the pedestal upon which the sacred barque of a god could rest, when in procession. These pedestals were usually situated within a stone barque-shrine, open at both ends to allow ease of access for the priests carrying the barque. Brovarski²⁸ has previously noted this specific use of the term in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and has pointed out that, on the blocks from the Karnak sanctuary of Hatshepsut, the barque of Amun is depicted on a pedestal and is described as hpt hr st wrt.²⁹ In two examples the location of the pedestal is described in greater detail;

"Resting upon the st wrt in Karnak (Ipt-swt)."³⁰

"Resting upon the st wrt in Amun-Djeser-Djeseru, in the monument of Maatkare" (the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari).³¹

In such scenes st wrt was being used of the pedestal itself, an obvious extension of its original meaning. However, in the same period

st wrt was extended in meaning still further and came to be used to describe the entire shrine, not just the pedestal within it. The sanctuary of Hatshepsut ('Imn-st-ib) is itself called a st wrt in a building inscription of Tuthmosis III from Karnak;

"Now my majesty erected for him (Amun) a noble hm, 'Imn-st-ib, his st wrt like the horizon of heaven in quartzite (inr n rwdt nt dw dšr), its interior worked with electrum." ³²

Another text may also describe the same sanctuary as a st wrt. This is the autobiographical stela of Djehuty who was in charge of many building projects in Thebes during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Among the buildings to which he "led the craftsmen to work" was a "st wrt, a sh-ntr built in granite".³³ Unfortunately the name of this sanctuary is not given so that it cannot be proved to be that of the Amun temple. However, if it is not to be so identified then the Amun sanctuary would be omitted from the list of the queen's works for Amun, which is unlikely. The fact that the shrine is described as being made of granite, rather than quartzite and granite as is the case, is no real problem.³⁴

The same stela of Djehuty mentions work on two other swt wrt, one of which cannot be identified. This is a "sh-ntr, šht-ntr, his st wrt in electrum of the best of the foreign lands".³⁵ The name, šht ntr cannot be related to any known shrine.

The remaining sanctuary for which Djehuty was responsible has been identified, by Brovarski,³⁶ with the sanctuary of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari;

"I led the craftsmen to carry out works on h'-šht, the st wrt of Amun; his horizon which is in the west, all its doors (3w) were of true cedar, worked with bronze".³⁷ Since the description of this sanctuary follows immediately after Djehuty's description of the temple at Deir El-Bahari, 'Imn-dsr-dsrw, h'-šht could well be the name of the sanctuary of Hatshepsut's temple.

In the reign of Tuthmosis III the temple of Ptah within the Amun enclosure at Karnak was rebuilt, and the king describes how he "decorated (? sw'b)³⁸ his st wrt with fine metals and precious stones".³⁹

Interestingly st wrt soon came to be applied to entire temples or to halls within temples other than the sanctuary. The hypostyle-hall of Tuthmosis I, between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons at Karnak,

is called, in an inscription of Amenhotep II; Wa wsht of w3d-columns,a st wrt for the Lord-of-All, resembling the horizon which is in heaven",⁴⁰ and the temple of Amenhotep III at Luxor is described as "sacred Ipet, his st wrt of the first time".⁴¹

In the Nineteenth Dynasty st wrt occurs frequently in the dedicatory texts of the temple of Seti I at Abydos. These texts in the Seti temple are problematical as it is difficult to decide as to whether they are listing various elements in the temple, or using different terms in parallel to describe either the whole temple, or parts of it. For example the texts on the inner door of the aisle of Re-Horakhty in the second hypostyle hall state that the king made a pr wr in gold, a st wrt in gold, a sacred 'h in gold, a hwt-'3t in gold, a hwt-ntr in gold and a horizon of eternity in gold.⁴² This sequence would seem to suggest that each of the terms is being used to describe the temple itself but the dedicatory texts from the aisles of the other gods, which include rather more specific terms such as sbht, sb3, and t3, can only be understood as lists of parts of the temple.⁴³ Similar parallel texts are found within the shrines of the gods⁴⁴ and these shrines are themselves actually called swt-wrt in the main dedications of each shrine;

"....making for him (Ptah) a st wrt /// sb3w in electrum".⁴⁵

"....making for him (Re-Horakhty) a st wrt decorated with gold, its sb3w gilded with electrum".⁴⁶

"....making for him (Osiris) a st wrt /// in front of the Lord-of-Ta-Djeser, a pr-wr gilded with electrum, its sb3w ///." ⁴⁷

"....making for her (Isis) a st wrt, radiant with every precious stone, its sb3w gilded with electrum." ⁴⁸

The chapel of Seti himself is described as a "noble pr-wr in my hwt of millions of years, my st wrt beside their majesties." ⁴⁹ The dedicatory text from the chapel of Amun is damaged at the relevant point.⁵⁰

The temple of Ramesses II at Abydos had a, more usual, single sanctuary, lined with alabaster walls and a pink granite ceiling.⁵¹ This is described, on a block from the ceiling as "a st wrt in alabaster" ⁵² and, in a longer building text from the exterior of the temple, as "a st wrt in pure alabaster, roofed in granite".⁵³

The sanctuary of the temple of Seti I at Gurna is stated to be a "st wrt in electrum in which the god rests." ⁵⁴

In Papyrus Harris I st wrt is used for the sanctuaries of the temples of Re at Heliopolis, "the st wrt in gold, the 3wy in ketem,"⁵⁵ and of Ptah at Memphis, "its st wrt being enlarged like a pr-wr, covered by a t3yt of gold like the 3wy of heaven."⁵⁶ The term is also used in the same papyrus to describe an entire temple.⁵⁷

In the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, the barque-rooms of Amun, Khonsu and Monthu⁵⁸ are each called "st wrt in the hwt of Usermaatre-Meryamun."⁵⁹

The barque-shrine of the Amun temple at Karnak was replaced during the regency of Philip Arrhidaeus who describes how "the st wrt of Amun which had been built in the time of the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, had fallen into ruin....his majesty built it anew in granite."⁶⁰

In the Graeco-Roman Period st wrt was often used to mean an entire temple⁶¹ but it was also still applied, specifically, to the sanctuary of a temple. This is so at Edfu⁶² and in the temple of Opet at Karnak.⁶³

The development of st wrt, from "throne" to "barque-pedestal" and then to "barque-shrine," "sanctuary" and "temple" seems to have occurred in a short period of time in the Eighteenth Dynasty, although it is always possible that the term had these meanings in earlier periods for which there are fewer extant building texts. Once these extended meanings were established, they remained in use through to the Ptolemaic Period in hieroglyphic texts, although st wrt does not seem to occur in the demotic script.

- 1 Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 157, §197; 349, §615; 350, §617.
- 2 Ibid., I, 347, §612 (for a photograph of this block see; Chevrier, ASAE 26 (1926), pl.IV, c); 348, §613 (photograph; Pillet, ASAE 23 (1923), pl.IV.
- 3 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 172, §233; KRI, I, 134, 5; 150, 7; 151, 13.
- 4 Urk., IV, 342, 11; 1571, 10; KRI, I, 131, 7; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 480; II, 36.
- 5 Urk., IV, 167, 2 (with final Δ restored); 421, 10; 422, 17; 425, 9; 766, 7; 1709, 13; 1726, 17; KRI, I, 130, 5; 132, 12; 164, 14; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.30, a and b; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 51, 9; Chassinat, op. cit., IV, 5; De Wit, Inscriptions du Temple d'Opet

- à Karnak, 98; 99 (both with ḏ); Id., Ch. d'Eg. 36 No.71 (January, 1961), 67; Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.7, b, 4-5.
- 6 Urk., IV, 427, 15; KRI, I, 155, 4; 160, 13.
- 7 Urk., IV, 1331, 17.
- 8 Ibid., IV, 2083, 15.
- 9 Ibid., IV, 1918, 11; Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.19, a.
- 10 Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.XLV, 4, 5; Erichsen, op. cit., 30, 5-6; 50, 15.
- 11 Griffith, JEA 13 (1927), pl.XXXIX. This is in an epithet of Ptah, ḥry st wrt, which is more often written without the determinative, e.g., Urk., IV, 1802, 5; 1936, 10; KRI, I, 59, 13.
- 12 Ibid., I, 151, 8, 9 and 10; 158, 7; 163, 10; 219, 16.
- 13 Ibid., I, 160, 3 and 4.
- 14 Ibid., I, 157, 11 and 12.
- 15 Ibid., I, 149, 14 and 16; 149, 13 and 15 (with an open door); 154, 10 and 11.
- 16 Ibid., I, 43, 2.
- 17 Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.3, 4.
- 18 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Med. Habu, VII, pl.501, A; (without the determinative, Ibid., VII, pl.501, B).
- 19 Ibid., VI, pl.409.
- 20 Ibid., VI, pl.441, c.
- 21 Urk., II, 10, 7.
- 22 Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.46, a, 2.
- 23 LDT, II, 244.
- 24 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 574.
- 25 Ibid., I, 22; 35; II, 79.
- 26 For the view that this term should be read st wrwt see; Fecht, Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, 6-8, 10.
- 27 Wb., IV, 7, 4-7. See also, in further detail, Kuhlmann, Der Thron im alten Ägypten, 28-32.
- 28 Brovarski, JEA 62 (1976), 72-73.
- 29 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., I, 347, § 613; 349, § 615; 350, § 617.
- 30 Ibid., I, 157, § 197.
- 31 Ibid., I, 172, § 233.
- 32 Urk., IV, 167, 2.
- 33 Ibid., IV, 427, 15.
- 34 See further under sh-ntr, p.253.

- 35 Urk., IV, 421, 10.
- 36 Brovarski, loc. cit..
- 37 Urk., IV, 422, 17.
- 38 See; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 216.
- 39 Urk., IV, 766, 7.
- 40 Ibid., IV, 1331, 17.
- 41 Ibid., IV, 1709, 13.
- 42 KRI, I, 131, 4-15.
- 43 Ibid., I, 129-135.
- 44 Ibid., I, 147-163.
- 45 Ibid., I, 149, 9-16.
- 46 Ibid., I, 151, 3-10.
- 47 Ibid., I, 154, 10-15.
- 48 Ibid., I, 157, 11-14.
- 49 Ibid., I, 148, 1-2.
- 50 Ibid., I, 153, 3-5.
- 51 PM., VI, 38-39.
- 52 Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.19, a.
- 53 Ibid., II, pl.3, 4.
- 54 KRI, I, 219, 16.
- 55 Erichsen, op. cit., 30, 5-6.
- 56 Ibid., 50, 15.
- 57 Ibid., 51, 9.
- 58 Rooms 7, 15 and 33, see; PM., II, pl.XLVIII.
- 59 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, op. cit., IV, pls.409; 441, c; VII, pl.501, A and B. 60 Urk., II, 10, 7.
- 61 Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.46, a, 2; III, pl.7, b, 4-5; LDT, II, 244; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 22; 35; 574; II, 79.
- 62 De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36 No.71 (January, 1961), 67.
- 63 Id., Inscriptions du Temple d'Opet à Karnak, 98; 99 (the dedicatory text which mentions the st wrt is actually situated in the room (No. VII) immediately before the sanctuary (No.X), but there can be no doubt that the description refers to the latter (for a plan of the temple see; PM., II, pl.XXII).

An inscription of Senmut at Deir El-Bahari records that he was permitted to perpetuate his name on all the s3wt in the service of the king (Hatshepsut), in her mortuary temple (Djeser-djeseru) and in the r-prw of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt.²⁹ Temple-walls upon which the name of an official can be inscribed must be made of stone, suggesting that s3t was not used of, for example, brick enclosure walls. Other texts also specifically use s3t when referring to inscribed walls.

30

"I built this tomb.....the inscription (sš) made its s3wt great!"

"His majesty ordered that the victories which Amun had given to him should be perpetuated on the stone s3t in the hwt-ntr." ³¹

"O, those who will pass by this hwt.....and will look at the s3wt and will recite from my utterances, may the King of Upper and Lower Egypt favour and love (them)."³²

33

"The inscription (sš) upon the s3t, engraved with the Great Name!"

"Your sacred images cut upon the s3w(t)." ³⁴

"His s3wt engraved with his cartouche." ³⁵

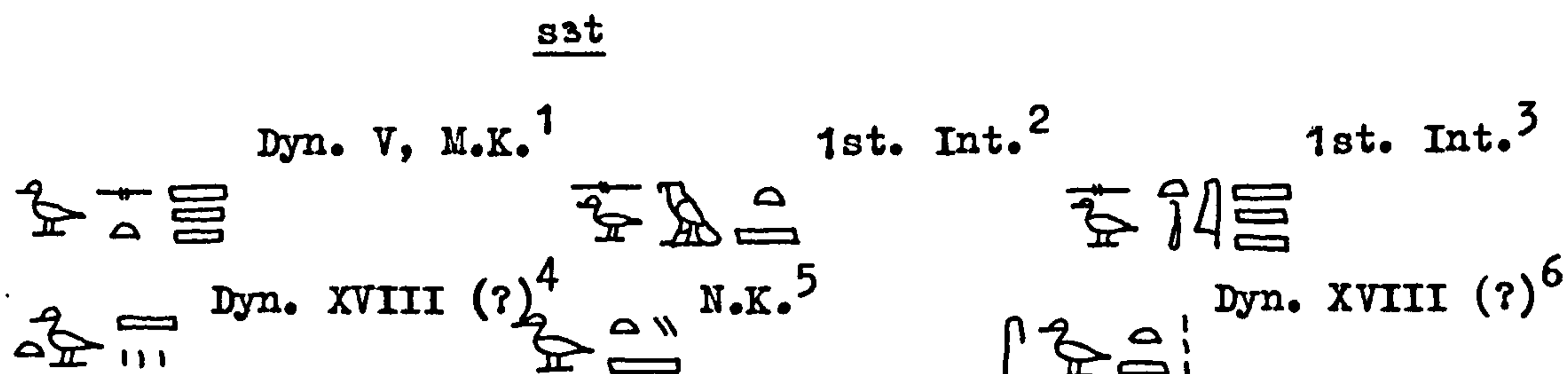
It would seem, therefore, that s3t was used mainly for a stone, inscribed wall in texts which date from the New Kingdom and later. A text of the reign of Ramesses II allows the meaning to be even more specifically defined. It refers to a building attached to the Ramess-eum; "the inbw in stone, engraved on the s3wt with inscriptions of Thoth." ³⁶ S3t here must refer to the surface of the wall upon which texts could be carved. Traunecker has suggested that a s3t was, "plus spécialement a l'origine les parois d'un mur." ³⁷ This is supported by a description of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as a "fine msht for the Ennead, surrounded by open- and closed-capital columns, its s3wt like the limits of the cultivation (tnw1)." ³⁸ The walls in question are the inscribed inner walls of the hall.

This term does, therefore, seem to have had a particular meaning, but, like so many terms, it was used less-accurately as time went on and, by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty at least, it was being used as a non-specific term for a wall. S3w(t) occurs often in the stela of Pianchi, in the descriptions of the various sieges by which the king took control of Egypt,³⁹ and seems to be a general term for "wall". It certainly does not retain, in this stela, its original meaning.

S3t is found as a word for a wall in Ptolemaic texts⁴⁰ and also occurs in the demotic script⁴¹ but does not survive into Coptic.

- 1 Posener-Krièger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.LVIII A, G.
- 2 Ibid., pl.XIX A, 4; LXXVIA, M (partial); Urk., IV, 1048, 5 (in plural).
- 3 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, pl.13, 9, 9. The exact date of this graffito is disputed, but it is probably of the early Middle Kingdom.
- 4 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, V, 32.
- 5 Urk., VII, 56, 7.
- 6 Gardiner, Admonitions, 4, 3; Malinine, BIFAO 34 (1934), 65.
- 7 Hayes, MDAIK 15 (1957), 85, fig.3.
- 8 Urk., IV, 684, 10.
- 9 Ibid., IV, 1845, 13.
- 10 KRI, I, 186, 9; L.D., III, 170-171.
- 11 KRI, I, 202, 9.
- 12 Ibid., I, 194, 2.
- 13 Wb., Belegstellen, IV, 5; Chassinat, Édfou, I, 18; Id., Denderah, III, 62 (similar).
- 14 Urk., III, 5, 15.
- 15 Ibid., 16, 1; 30, 17; 31, 14; 32, 3.
- 16 Ibid., 24, 1; 34, 1 and 3.
- 17 Chassinat, Édfou, I, 327.
- 18 Mariette, Denderah, II, pl.17, d (twice); II, pl.82, c.
- 19 Ibid., III, pl.68, i.
- 20 Pierret, Insc. Louvre, II, 21 (C.232).
- 21 Wb., IV, 14, 4-14.
- 22 Posener-Krièger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.LVIII A, G.
- 23 Ibid., pl.XIX A, 4.
- 24 Ibid., pl.LXXVIA, M.
- 25 Anthes, loc. cit..
- 26 Malinine, loc. cit.. Since floors (s3tw) are often described as being made of silver, it is possible that the text is corrupt at this point.
- 27 Urk., VII, 56, 7.
- 28 Gardiner, loc. cit..
- 29 Helck, loc. cit..
- 30 Urk., IV, 1048, 5.
- 31 Ibid., IV, 684, 10.
- 32 Ibid., IV, 1845, 13.

- 33 KRI, I, 194, 2.
- 34 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 18.
- 35 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl.17, d (twice).
- 36 L.D., III, 170-171.
- 37 Traunecker, Karnak, V, 153, 4 and note 3.
- 38 KRI, I, 202, 9.
- 39 Urk., III, 5, 15; 16, 1; 24, 1; 30, 17; 31, 14; 32, 3; 34, 1 and 3.
- 40 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 18; 327; Mariette, op. cit., II, pls.17, d; 82, c.
- 41 Erichsen, Démotisches Glossar, 405.



The Wörterbuch suggested that this term, for which it cited only two references,⁷ meant "Fussböden-platten".⁸ The earliest example occurs in a damaged inscription of the Fifth Dynasty from Saqqara, "//// (I) built the s3w, (I) did not lay down (or, overlay) the s3wt."⁹ The use of the verb dr¹⁰ with s3wt would certainly support such a meaning as that given by the Wörterbuch, since dr is elsewhere used with s3tw "floor".¹¹ However the other texts in which s3wt occurs are not so easy to interpret.

In the description of the tomb of Ankhtifi at Moalla the s3t, which was brought from Elephantine, appears to be an element in a door.¹² The same is true of an occurrence in the Book of the Dead, "I will not let you pass over me", said the s3t of this sb3, 'unless you tell me my name'."¹³ These two passages would suggest that s3t could be used for the threshold of a door. In another, damaged, text, the s3wt are mentioned in proximity to doors (s3w) and are probably also "thresholds".¹⁴

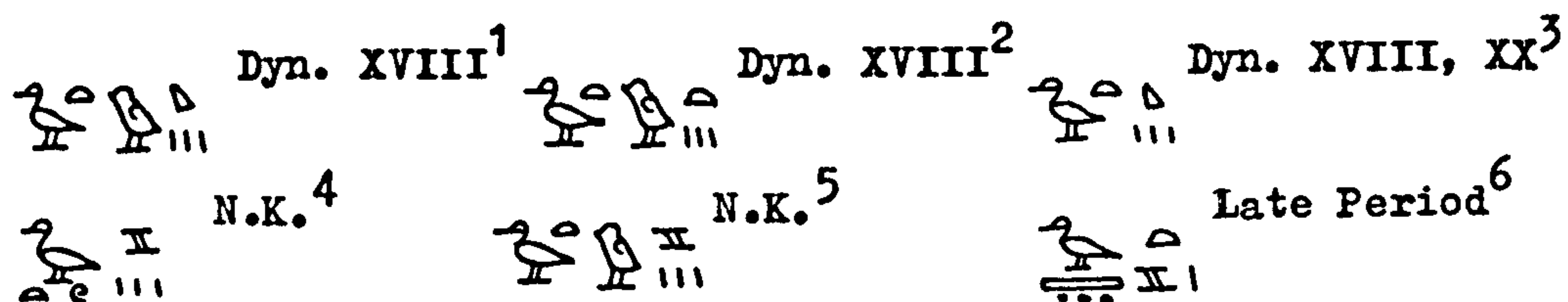
In two temples, however, the s3wt are described along with columns. The first example is on the inscriptions of the red-granite papyrus-form-cluster columns of Amenemhat III from Crocodilopolis, "making a ws3t, its w3dw and its s3wt in granite, its sb3w in electrum."¹⁵ Texts from the temple of Hathor at Serabit El-Khadim in Sinai describe "erecting for her s3wt and iwnw of sandstone".¹⁶ In these cases s3wt may refer to the bases upon which the columns stood.

Basically s3t seems to have been a term for a stone element at floor-level, a threshold, column-base or flooring itself. It is probably related to an identically-spelled term which is determined with \rightarrow , and which seems to refer to "planks" or "beams" of wood.¹⁷

¹ Urk., I, 181, 10 (Quibell, Saqqara, 1907-8, pl.LXI, 3); Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88 (L.D., II, 118, g).

- 2 Vandier, Mo'alla, 232, V, α, 5; pl.XX.
- 3 Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie, 46, 11.
- 4 Gardiner, and Peet, The Inscriptions of Sinai, I, pl.LXXIX, 317, A, a.
- 5 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Text, 264, 12.
- 6 Gardiner and Peet, op. cit., I, pl.LXXIV, 310, (a).
- 7 Habachi, loc. cit.; Urk., I, 181, 10; (cited by earlier publications,
- 8 Wb., III, 412, 14. see note 1, above).
- 9 Urk., I, 181, 10.
- 10 Wb., V, 475, 3-6.
- 11 Urk., IV, 1150, 13; 1164, 9.
- 12 Vandier, loc. cit..
- 13 Budge, loc. cit..
- 14 Clère and Vandier, loc. cit..
- 15 Habachi, loc. cit..
- 16 Gardiner and Peet, op. cit., pl.LXXIX, 317, A, a; cf. also Ibid., pl.LXXIV, 310, (a).
- 17 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 254, a; Urk., IV, 707, 14; Compare also s3w "der Balken" (Wb., III, 419, 14-17) and s3 which occurs in the Abusir Papyri, Posener-Krieger, Beiträge Bf., 12, Festschrift Ricke, 76-77.

See further below, s3tw, addendum, p. 216-218.

s3tw

S3tw is originally, and usually, a term for the earth or the ground,⁷ and its use in architectural contexts as a word for the floor can be easily understood. It is probably also connected with the term s3t which was used for thresholds and flooring.⁸ S3tw does not seem to have been applied to a floor in a building before the New Kingdom.⁹

The meaning of this term is not in any doubt and a few examples will suffice to show its typical usage.

"I led the craftsmen to work on the works in the pr of Amun.....
...its s3tw worked with gold and silver." ¹⁰

"Making for him (Amun) a hm of gold, its s3tw in silver." ¹¹

"Bringing Asian copper which his majesty brought from campaign in Retemu, to gild the 3w-doors of the sh-ntr of Amun in Ipet-sut, its s3tw overlaid with gold (nbwy)."¹²

A mythological example from a Late-Period papyrus illustrates, clearly, the meaning of the term; "As for the House of Life, it is in Abydos,.....Geb is its s3tw and Nut its ceiling (hrw)."¹³

S3tw was not often used to mean "floor" and does not recur as such in either demotic or Coptic texts.

1 Urk., IV, 158, 15; 423, 10; 1331, 18; 1648, 10; 1650, 16; 1668, 4.

2 Ibid., IV, 1329, 10.

3 Ibid., IV, 1150, 13; Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 733 (Wb., III, 424, 8, wrongly quotes this reference as Ibid., II, 732).


4 Wreszinski, Der Papyrus Ebers, 203, 17.

5 Budge, The Book of the Dead (1898), Text, 267 (Chapter 125, 44).

6 Derchain, Le Papyrus Salt 825, 8*, VI, 8.


7 Wb., IV, 423-424.

8 See above, s3t, p.213.

- 9 An example from a stela of the Second Intermediate Period (Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199; pl.XVII, 10) of  may be a different word altogether since both the determinative used, and the context of the part of the inscription in which the term occurs, would suggest a translation of "door".
- 10 Urk., IV, 423, 10.
- 11 Ibid., IV, 1329, 10.
- 12 Ibid., IV, 1150, 13.
- 13 Derchain, loc. cit..


Addendum

After this study was completed there appeared a discussion of s3t and s3tw by Frandsen in an article in which he publishes an additional example of the former term, from a hieratic letter of the Middle Kingdom.¹ Essentially Frandsen's conclusions on the meaning of s3t do not differ from my own, although he makes no attempt to discuss the use of the term in connection with columns. He regards a s3t as having been, originally, a "door-sill" with its meaning "later extended to cover all kinds of paving".²

However, Frandsen also equates s3t and s3tw, regarding the latter as a plural-form of the former.³ This would seem to be in contradiction to the evidence that s3tw (also written s3tw) is attested as a term for "ground" "earth" from the Old Kingdom onwards.⁴ It would, therefore, seem to be not illogical to regard writings of  in building inscriptions as the word for "earth" transferred to an architectural context as a term for the "floor". This has been the generally accepted interpretation in the past, and one which I see no reason to reject. Since Frandsen suggests that a s3t could also be a paving block, he would presumably support a translation of "floor" for the "plural" s3tw in most cases, although this would seem to be a rather tortuous route to arrive at the usual translation.

He does, however, quote six examples of s3tw from Eighteenth Dynasty building texts, in which the element is described as being made of, or decorated with, precious metals.⁵ Concerning these he states; "the meaning 'paving-block' 'sill' does not account satisfactorily for the Urk., IV examples where the s3tw is said to be

decorated (shkr, sw'b, dr) with precious metals. I would suggest that s3tw is here used with reference to the block or blocks making up the bed of the door, ie. the sill proper, with the socket and the groove leading into it".⁶

Frandsen does not make clear exactly what is the difference between "the sill" and "the sill proper", and I see no reason to translate these examples as anything other than "floor". Although Frandsen does not say so, he presumably would object to a translation of "floor" because these s3tw are decorated with metal. This can, however, be compared with the expression t3m h3 "floor of silver" which is found with reference to the Amun temple at Karnak in the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁷ In addition, metal-worked s3tw are often parts of shrines,⁸ rather than of temples, and could easily have been covered with a precious metal. Frandsen does not quote any of these examples, and of the six he does mention, only one is obviously a shrine. This is the description, from the tomb of Rekhmire, of the casting of metal door-leaves (c3w) for the sh-n3r of Amun at Karnak.⁹ The remaining five examples are from general descriptions of temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁰ In all of these s3tw can be easily translated by "floor" with the possible exception of the description of the door of the Third Pylon at Karnak. In this text the s3tw is a part of the doorway, "...making for him (Amun) a very great sb3 before Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, worked in its entirety in gold.....its (masc.)  decorated (sw'b) with silver, the sb3wt in front of it being set in place".¹¹

In this example s3tw could be being used for the door-sill. It could also have been applied to the "floor" of the doorway since a door in an Egyptian temple pylon was several feet thick and formed a passage through the thickness of the stone-work which could have been regarded as having had a "floor".






















































Frandsen, in support of his view that s3tw is a plural of s3t, makes the point that, in the description of the temple of Monthu, the adjective nb is used with s3tw, rather than r-'w.s, "implying "a plurality of objects".¹² It is also possible that s3tw.s nb refers to "all its (the temple's) floors".

Although the similarity of stem of the two terms makes it likely that they were connected in some way, I see no reason to regard s3tw merely as a plural-form of s3t, nor to adopt a new translation for

the metal-decorated s3tw in the random examples quoted by Frandsen,

- 1 Frandsen, JARCE 15 (1978), 25-31.
- 2 Ibid., 29.
- 3 Ibid., 28.
- 4 Wb., III, 423, 7-16; 424, 1-12. The term also survives into Coptic as εCHT with the same meanings; Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 38.
- 5 Frandsen, op. cit., 27-28.
- 6 Ibid., 29.
- 7 Wb., V, 214, 15.
- 8 E.g., Urk., IV, 1329, 10; 1331, 18; Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 733.
- 9 Urk., IV, 1150, 11-14. Frandsen inaccurately translates sh-ntr as "temple" (op. cit., 28, No.8).
- 10 Urk., IV, 1648, 10; 1650, 16; 1654, 8; 1655, 7; 1668, 2-5.
- 11 Ibid., IV, 1654, 4-9.
- 12 Frandsen, op. cit., 28.
- 13 Urk., IV, 1668, 4.

sb3

 * 	Dyn. V ¹	 * 	Dyn. VI ²	 * 	Dyn. VI ³
 * 	Dyn. VI, 1st. Int. ⁴ Dyn. XII, 2nd. Int.	 * 	Dyn. VI ⁵		
* 	1st. Int., Dyn. XII, ⁶ 2nd. Int., Dyn. XVIII	 * 	Dyn. XII, XVIII, XIX ⁷		
* 	Dyn. XII, Ptol. ⁸	* 	Dyn. XII ⁹	 	Dyn. XII ¹⁰
* 	Dyn. XII ¹¹		Dyn. XII ¹²		Dyn. XVIII, XIX ¹³
 * 	Dyn. XVIII ¹⁴		Dyn. XVIII ¹⁵		Dyn. XVIII ¹⁶
 * 	Dyn. XVIII ¹⁷	* 	Dyn. XVIII ¹⁸		Dyn. XVIII ¹⁹
* 	Dyn. XVIII ²⁰		Dyn. XVIII ²¹		Dyn. XVIII ²²
* 	Dyn. XVIII ²³		Dyn. XVIII ²⁴		Dyn. XIX, XX, Ptol. ²⁵
* 	Dyn. XIX ²⁶	*	Dyn. XIX ²⁷		Dyn. XIX, XX ²⁸
	Dyn. XIX ²⁹		Dyn. XIX ³⁰		Dyn. XIX ³¹
 * 	Dyn. XIX ³²		Dyn. XIX ³³		
 * 	Dyn. XX ³⁴		Dyn. XX ³⁵		
 * 	Dyn. XX ³⁶		Dyn. XX ³⁷	* 	Dyn. XX ³⁸
 * 	Dyn. XXVII ³⁹		Ptol. ⁴⁰		Ptol. ⁴¹

There can be no doubt as to the basic meaning of sb3, both the determinatives used and the contexts in which the word is found show that sb3 is to be translated as "door". There are, however, interesting developments in the history of this word which make a re-examination of the evidence valuable.

At first glance it would appear that there were many different

ways of writing sb3 but, in actual fact, many of the variants shown above are isolated examples and the most frequent writing in the building texts of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties was No. 13. The Late Egyptian writings can be easily explained through confusion with other words formed from the same stem, although sb3 "door" does not appear to be related in meaning to these other words.⁴² The earliest examples of sb3 date from the Fifth Dynasty and the word was used consistently up to, and including, the Ptolemaic period. It also occurred in demotic⁴³ and survived into Coptic as CBE S, BE, CBH^F, pl. CBHY A2.⁴⁴

The Wörterbuch noted that sb3 could refer to the entire doorway, the frame or the leaves⁴⁵ and it is the question of exactly which parts of the doorway were described as sb3w which will be discussed here.

In the Abusir Papyri sb3 is used in a context in which there can be little doubt that the entire doorway was intended since the sb3 n hn is subdivided into '3wy.f "its leaves", snb.f (meaning uncertain) and ds.f "itself".⁴⁶ Clearly sb3 here denotes the entire doorway, although the designation of the frame as "itself" indicates that sb3 could also be used of the frame alone. This is also shown by those examples which state that sb3w were made of stone. These include doors for the pyramid-temple of Merenre⁴⁷ and a mortuary temple of the First Intermediate Period.⁴⁸

In the Middle Kingdom the first examples are found of actual door frames which are labelled as "sb3". The gateway of the Middle Kingdom temple of Thoth at Hermopolis is described as a sb3,⁴⁹ as is the granite door frame from the d3d3w of Amenemhat I at Quantir⁵⁰ and a jamb found in the foundations of the temple of Medamûd.⁵¹ This last example is from a building named šn' n htpw-ntr "storehouse of divine offerings". In the Middle Kingdom most buildings were constructed in brick, with only certain elements in the more costly stone. The door frames were among these elements and consequently have survived, often re-used, when the rest of the building has been lost. It has been seen, so far, that sb3 was used of doorways in temples,⁵² palaces (d3d3w) and administrative buildings. It was also used of the doors of private houses⁵³ and tombs⁵⁴ as well as in mythological contexts.⁵⁵

Two texts of the Second Intermediate Period show that at that time sb3 was the name for the door frame alone and it did not refer to the entire doorway which included the door leaves. A stela of

Sebekhotep IV describes work at Karnak where the king erected a wooden sb3 of 10 cubits with '3wy-r worked in gold and silver⁵⁶ while a stela from the temple of Min at Koptos tells of the sb3w and '3w having fallen into ruin.⁵⁷

As is the case with so many words sb3 has survived principally in the detailed building texts of the New Kingdom. Undoubtedly sb3 was a frequently occurring word prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty but few useful texts have been preserved from the earlier periods. In the New Kingdom many temple doorways were labelled "sb3", including the doorways of pylons and other doors, both in the temple proper and in the enclosure wall. Such examples are too numerous to list in detail and, in fact, little would be gained from this since the evidence is quite conclusive, showing that sb3 was used of the door frame which was usually made of stone.⁵⁸ Some of these sb3w are described as being made of metal⁵⁹ but it is the fact that the stone jambs could be plated with metal to which reference is being made.⁶⁰ It is principally in the Eighteenth Dynasty that sb3 was used of the monumental stone door frame, although this usage continued into the Nineteenth Dynasty and is found, occasionally, later. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this use of sb3 in the New Kingdom.

"I inspected the erection of the great sb3 (called) 'Imn-shm-f3w, its great '3 was of Asian copper."⁶¹ (Karnak)



".....its sb3w in granite of Elephantine, its '3w in bronze...."⁶² (Armant)

".....'3w in cedar worked with copper, the sb3w in granite."⁶³ (Elephantine)

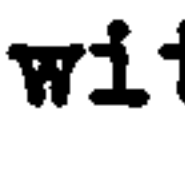


".....sb3w in granite, their '3wy in copper."⁶⁴

".....a sb3 in black granite, '3wy-r banded with copper and gilded with electrum."⁶⁵ (Both the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos)

Although in the New Kingdom sb3 was used principally for a monumental temple doorway, it could still be used, but rarely, of the door of a private house⁶⁶ and, more often, for palace doorways.⁶⁷

From the Nineteenth Dynasty there is a change in meaning of sb3, indicated by the use of the new determinatives  and . The use of these signs would suggest that sb3 has been transferred from the door frame to the door leaf, a conclusion which is supported by the contexts in which sb3 is found from this period. This change in meaning of sb3 is curious since the regular word for a door leaf

sb3, which had been in constant use from the early dynastic period, still occurred, although it was not as frequently used as in earlier periods.⁶⁸

There can, however, be no doubt that sb3 was transferred from the door frame to the door leaf. One indication of this is when the sb3w of temples are described as being made of wood. Even in the Middle Kingdom the doorways of brick temples were usually made of stone and in the stone temples of the New Kingdom the only wooden parts to a doorway were the door leaves. Since sb3 also retained its original meaning this led to a situation where the same word was used to describe both door frames and leaves in different texts relating to the temple of Seti I at Abydos. The actual doorways are labelled "sb3"⁶⁹ while, in the Nauri decree, the door leaves are called sb3w and described as being "of cedar.....gilded with electrum and banded with copper...."⁷⁰ There are other texts where sb3w made of wood are probably to be understood as door leaves.⁷¹ This is particularly true of the work of Ramesses III at various temples described in Papyrus Harris I. As Christophe has noted⁷² sb3w in this papyrus can always be translated as "door leaves". Sb3 in this text is determined consistently with , and although some of the sb3w are described as being made of metal⁷³ they are wooden door leaves⁷⁴ plated with gold or electrum.⁷⁵ Whenever sb3 is determined by ⁷⁶ or ⁷⁷ it is probably safe to assume that the intention is to refer to the door leaves.

One final example from the tale of the two brothers provides clear proof that sb3 could be used for a door leaf. When Bata returned to the stable, "...he looked under the sb3 of his stall (and) he saw the feet of his elder [brother] as he was standing behind the sb3."⁷⁸ The distinctive shape of the Egyptian door leaf with the pivots and the resulting "cut-away" sections at the top and bottom⁷⁹ is suggested here, and it is only if sb3 is translated as "door leaf" that the sighting of Anpu's feet "behind the sb3" can be understood.

Sb3 originally referred to the door frame while sb3w was used to describe the leaves. The entire doorway could also be called sb3. Later, from the Nineteenth Dynasty onwards, the word was transferred to the door leaf, while also retaining its original meaning.⁸⁰



























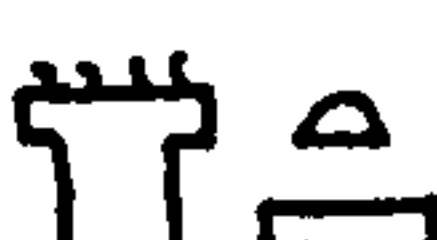

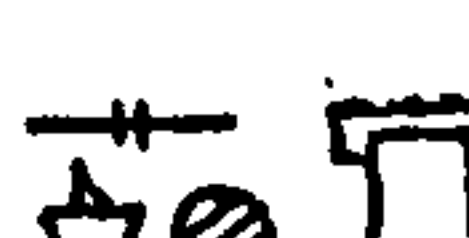
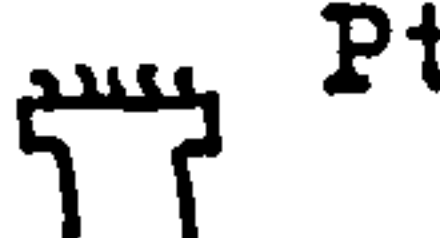

- 1 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu-Sir Papyri, pl.LXIXA, 4.
- 2 Pyr., 799a; 1115b.
- 3 Pyr., 799a.
- 4 Pyr., 799a; Urk., I, 107, 4; Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire, 44; 45, 1; Pierret, Insc. Louvre, II, 29 (C.15, 5); Balcz and Bittel, MDAIK 3 (1932), 28, abb.13a and b; De Buck, Egyptian Reading Book, 72, 1; Mariette, Abydos, II, 30, 23.
- 5 Pyr., 1115b.
- 6 Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 46, 1; Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, pl.17A (K.14); Petrie, Koptos, pl.12, 3; Urk., IV, 65, 9; 426, 8; 1105, 16; 1106, 13; -1369, 11.
- 7 De Buck, op. cit., 91, 13; 96, 5; Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), pl.IXA, 3; Müller, Liebespoesie, pl.10, 899 (with $\overline{\text{A}}$ added by error.)
- 8 Bisson de la Roque and Clère, Rapport sur les Fouilles de Médamoud (1927), 98, fig.72; 123, fig.84; Piehl, Inscriptions., II, 93.
- 9 Simpson, op. cit., pl.13A (G.7 and G.12); 14A (H.37); 16A (J.7).
- 10 De Buck, op. cit., 72, 3.
- 11 Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 451 and pl.IV; Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199, 10, 12; pl.XVII, 10 and 12.
- 12 Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88; 91, fig.6.
- 13 Also determined with $\overline{\text{A}}$. Urk., IV, 43, 12; 56, 8; 295, 6; 382, 12; 302, 6, 8, 10; 618, 14; 819, 17; 829, 17; 851, 12; Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7; Mariette, op. cit., I, pls. 11a; 18; 30b; KRI, I, 132, 3; 149, 13-16; 162, 12 and 14.
- 14 Urk., IV, 43, 4; 382, 5; 1648, 11.
- 15 Ibid., 388, 10; 357, 5; 1668, 2.
- 16 Ibid., 521, 13.
- 17 Ibid., 430, 10; 2159, 16; 2160, 1.
- 18 Ibid., 1379, 8.
- 19 Wb. Belegstellen., IV, 22 (ref.83, 14); Urk., IV, 831, 6.
- 20 Ibid., 1073, 3.
- 21 Ibid., 1249, 14.
- 22 Ibid., 765, 13; 1550, 18.
- 23 Ibid., 1295, 5 and 6.
- 24 Ibid., 1651, 11.
- 25 Wb. Belegstellen., IV, 22 (ref.83, 9); Badawy, Miscellanea Wilbouriana I, 5, fig.5; Sauneron, BIFAO, 64 (1966), pl.II, x+5 and x+7;

- Davies, N[orman]de G, Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah, pls.13; 30; Wb., Belegstellen, IV, 22 (ref.83, 17).
- 26 KRI, I, 47, 10.
- 27 Ibid., 121, 2.
- 28 Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.IIV, 3, 4; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 50, 11 (omitting e).
- 29 Barguet, ASAE 50 (1950), 274; 276; 277, fig.7; 278; Plantikow-Münster, ZÄS 95 (1969), 119, abb.1b, 5.
- 30 Mariette, op. cit., II, 11b.
- 31 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 10, 9.
- 32 Ibid., 39, 2.
- 33 Id., Late Egyptian Stories, 15, 6.
- 34 Erichsen, op. cit., 70, 2; also (omitting ꜥ) 5, 10; 6, 7; 9, 16.
- 35 Ibid., 94, 8.
- 36 Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 54, 10; Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.IV, (B.M. 10221, 7, 1).
- 37 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, VII, pl.501, A.
- 38 Peet, op. cit., pl.XXI (B.M. 10053, verso, 4, 9).
- 39 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, The Temple of Hibis in El-Khargeh Oasis, III, pl.59.
- 40 Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.43, p.
- 41 Chassinat, Edfou, V, 4, 3.
- 42 Wb., IV, 82-86. See also; Ward, The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots
- 43 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 419. | b₃, 63, § 120-121.
- 44 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 321b; Černý, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 147; Ösing, Nominalbildung, 404.
- 45 Wb., IV, 83, 9-17.
- 46 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, loc. cit.. For discussions of this passage see; Posener-Kriéger in Beiträge Bf.12, Festschrift Ricke, 83-85, and Id., Les Archives du Temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï, 440.
- 47 Urk., I, 107, 4.
- 48 Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 45, 1.
- 49 Balcz and Bittel, loc. cit..
- 50 Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 451; pl.IV. For another door-jamb of the same king see; Naville, Bubastis, 8; pl.XXXIII, A.
- 51 Bisson de la Roque and Clère, loc. cit..

- 52 See also for the Middle Kingdom; Habachi, ASAE 37 (1937), 88, 91, fig.6; De Buck, op.cit., 96,5; Simpson, op. cit., pls.13A (G.7 and G.12); 14A (H.37); 16A (J.7); 17A (K.14).
- 53 De Buck, op. cit., 91, 13.
- 54 Ibid., 72, 1; 72, 3.
- 55 Pyr., 799a; 1115b; Urk., IV, 65, 9; 430, 10; Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.30, 23. See also Wb., IV, 83,17.
- 56 Helck, loc. cit..
- 57 Petrie, Koptos, pl.12, 3.
- 58 Urk., IV, 43, 4; 43, 12; 56, 8; 167, 6, 7, 8; 168, 12; 295, 6; 302, 6, 8, 10; 382, 5 and 12; 388, 10; 426, 8; 521, 13; 618, 14; 680, 1; 819, 17; 829, 17; 831, 6; 844, 15; 849, 11; 850, 10 and 17; 851, 12; 1550, 18; 1651, 1; 1706, 3 and 18; 1708, 8; KRI, I, 121, 2; 149, 13-16; 162, 12 and 14; Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 149, 1-5; Mariette, op. cit., I, pls.18; 30b; Barguet, loc. cit.; Chassinat, loc. cit.; For a list of doors of the New Kingdom see Helck, Materialen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, 959-60; 963-4.
- 59 E.g., Urk., IV, 1648, 11; 1655, 8; 1668, 2; KRI, I, 132, 3.
- 60 E.g., Urk., IV, 167, 6-8; 1654, 3.
- 61 Urk., IV, 56, 8.
- 62 Ibid., 1249, 14.
- 63 Ibid., 1295, 6. Compare the Amada stele (Urk., IV, 1295, 5) where the sb3w are of sandstone.
- 64 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl.3, 4.
- 65 Ibid., II, pl.11, a and b.
- 66 Gardiner, loc. cit.; Müller, loc. cit..
- 67 Urk., IV, 1073, 3; 1105, 16; 1106, 13; 1369, 11; 2159, 16; 2160, 1; Černý and Gardiner, loc. cit.; Wb., Belegstellen., IV, 22 (ref.83, 14).
- 68 See '3 p.33-34.
- 69 KRI, I, 132, 3; 149, 13-16; 162, 12 and 14.
- 70 Ibid., I, 47, 10.
- 71 Abd El-Razik, loc. cit.; LD, III, 152c; Sauneron, loc. cit.; Peet, loc. cit.; Metropolitan Museum of Art, loc. cit..
- 72 Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 23, III, c.
- 73 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5, 10; 6, 7; 50, 11.
- 74 Ibid., 70, 2; 94, 8.

- 75 Ibid., 9, 16.
- 76 E.g., Davies, loc. cit.; Badawy, loc. cit.; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit.; Wb. Belegstellen, IV, 22 (ref.83, 17).
- 77 E.g., Peet, op. cit., II, pl.IV (B.M.10221, 7, 1); XXII (B.M. 10383, 2, 1-4); Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.43,p.
- 78 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 15, 6 and 8.
- 79 Koenigsberger, Die Konstruktion der Ägyptischen Tür, 13-24.
- 80 E.g., Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 597; KRI, I, 121, 2; Barguet, loc. cit.; Plantikow-Münster, loc. cit..

sbḥt


	Dyn. IV ¹		1st. Int., Dyn. ² XVIII, XXIII		1st. Int. ³
	M.K. ⁴ Dyn. XVIII		Dyn. XII ⁵		M.K. ⁶
	2nd. Int. ⁷		2nd. Int. ⁸		Dyn. XVIII ⁹
	Dyn. XVIII ¹⁰		Dyn. XVIII ¹¹		N.K. ¹²
	N.K. ¹³		N.K. ¹⁴		Dyn. XIX ¹⁵
	Dyn. XIX ¹⁶		Dyn. XIX ¹⁷		Dyn. XIX ¹⁸
	Dyn. XIX ¹⁹		Dyn. XIX ²⁰		Dyn. XIX ²¹
	Dyn. XX ²²		Dyn. XX ²³		Dyn. XXI ²⁴
	Dyn. XXII ²⁵		Dyn. XXX ²⁶		Alex. II ²⁷
	Alex. II ²⁸		Ptol. ²⁹		Ptol. ³⁰
	Ptol. ³¹				



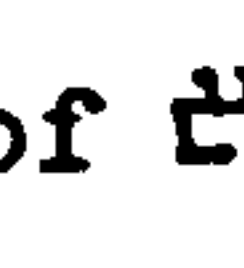
Sbḥt occurs in texts from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period but, unfortunately, it is most often found in texts which give little or no indication as to the specific nature of the building element involved. One of the principal uses of sbḥt is in religious texts such as the "Book of the Dead" or the "Book of Gates" where the sbḥwt are usually interpreted as being doors or gates through which the deceased had to pass, successfully, to reach the Underworld. This usage has led to sbḥt being regarded as another term for an entrance.

Consequently sbḥt has been translated as "Tör" and "Tur" by the Wörterbuch³² "gateway" by Gardiner³³ "portal" by Faulkner³⁴ and "Tör" by Erichsen.³⁵ The word does not appear to have recurred in the Coptic stage of the language.³⁶

Etymologically sbḥt must be a noun formed from the verb sbḥ "to

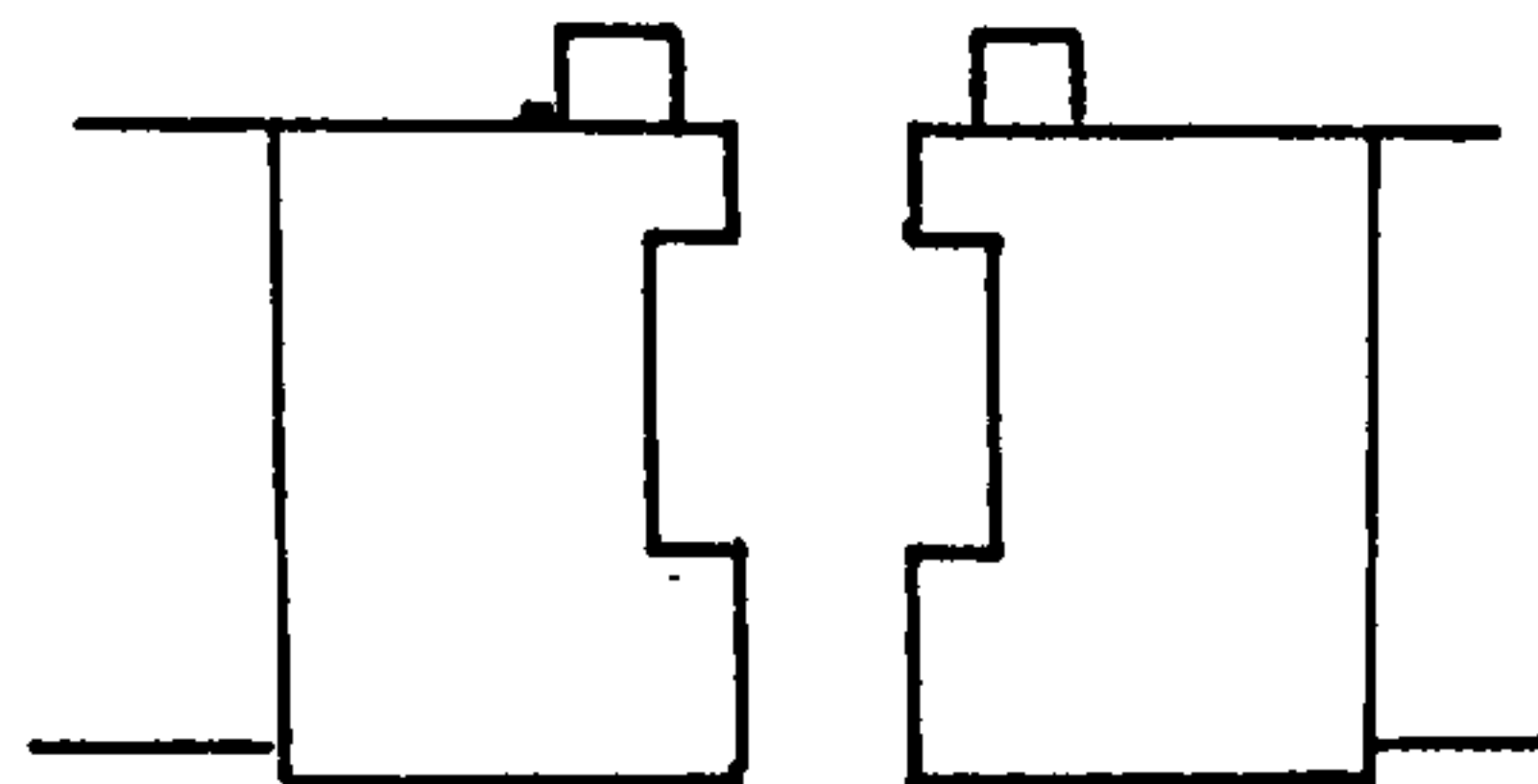
enclose" ³⁷ and both words share the same determinatives. ³⁸ Sbht ought therefore, to be understood as something which encloses or, less likely, which is enclosed. It is difficult to reconcile the obvious etymological origin of the noun with accepted translations such as "door" or "gate". An alternative rendering has been suggested by Barguet who preferred to describe the sbht as "un élément de protection à l'entrée du temple," ³⁹ and by Janssen who, while maintaining that at Deir el-Medina sbht always described the door-frame, added "basically it seems to indicate the porch of a building so that it could also be translated with "portal" or even as pars pro toto with "palace"." ⁴⁰ Sauneron regarded the sbht as "un portique, une porte pourvue d'une avancée." ⁴¹

The basis for the usual translations of sbht is the use made of the term in the religious texts, supported by the occurrences of the sign  as a determinative of sbht. This sign is not, however, used regularly until the Ptolemaic period, as can be seen from the writings quoted above. Previous to this era the door determinative occurs occasionally in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties while it is only found once before the New Kingdom.

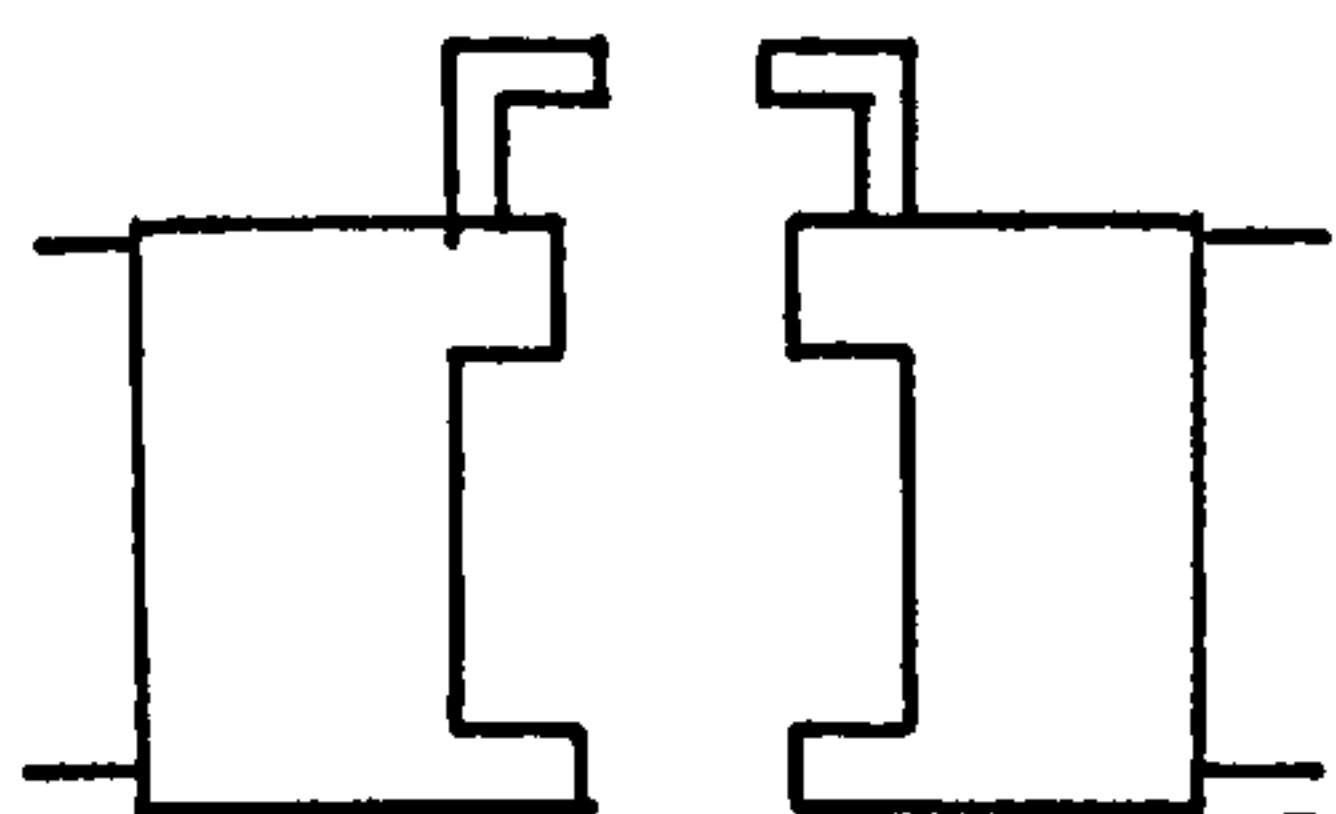
This is in the Westcar papyrus, which dates from the First Intermediate Period. The word is damaged but is clearly to be read as sbht. ⁴² The determinative employed has a hieratic form very similar to that of the hieroglyph  (or π) ⁴³ and Erman transcribed the determinative of sbht once as such ⁴⁴ and once as the door. ⁴⁵ The latter transcription has since been generally accepted. However no such determinative in ⁴⁶ a hieratic form is quoted by Möller prior to the Twenty-Second Dynasty and it is possible that the sign used in the Westcar papyrus has been misinterpreted. Möller himself transcribes the sign as  although the hieratic form in Westcar is quite different to examples of  in hieratic of similar date. ⁴⁷

The more usual determinatives of sbht varied in form as can be seen from the writings shown above, although the signs used tend to reflect the connection between sbht and the verb sbh "to enclose". The "battle-mented enclosure" ⁴⁸ occurs quite often and so does the sign which is a portion of the same. ⁴⁹ These determinatives were used originally for the verb and do not really assist in the elucidation of the meaning of the noun, so it is fortunate that there do exist still sbhwt which can be identified.

In the Twenty-Second Dynasty Pedubast I built a sbht of sandstone in front of the doorway of the Tenth Pylon of the Amun temple at Karnak.⁵⁰ This consisted of screen-walls built at right-angles to the face of the granite doorway which was erected by Horemheb.⁵¹ An inscription on the screen-doorway stated that it was "a great sbht of sandstone", built to replace a similar structure which had fallen into ruin.⁵² Once an actual sbht has been identified it is easy to see how the term came to be understood, mistakenly, as a "door" or "gate" and also how the noun is derived from the verb "to enclose".




At all periods in dynastic Egypt sbht would have been used for the screen-walls which protected important entrances. These could have been of the same form as that of Pedubast I or of a more complex form



with the screen-walls turning at right-angles to "enclose" the entrance to the building.⁵³

It is this form which is shown in the Book of Gates where each god is described as being within a sbht,⁵⁴ a description which can be readily understood as the sbht encloses a space in which the guardian of the door can sit. This is also the case in the Book of the Dead where the demons are depicted sitting within the sbhwt, in contrast to the guardians of the 'rryt who were sometimes shown sitting outside of the door.⁵⁵ In these religious texts it is not the actual door, nor its frame, which is called sbht but the screen-walled "porch" within which the guardian sits.⁵⁶

It is now necessary to investigate whether or not this interpretation of sbht can be applied to occurrences of the term in other texts.

As was noted above, those texts which do contain the word are singularly unhelpful. The earliest known example is from the Fourth Dynasty when Debhen brought limestone from Tura to line the r-pr of his tomb at Giza and also for the .⁵⁷ The Wörterbuch interprets this as a compound noun rwt-sbht, for which there are, however, no parallels.⁵⁸ It is also possible that the text is to be read "The rwt and the sbht". The tomb of Debhen contains a certain amount of Tura limestone which can be distinguished from the local limestone into which the tomb is cut. The second large chamber was

lined with the Tura stone and has been identified, by Hassan, with the r-pr in the inscription.⁵⁹ This conclusion seems to be inescapable. The only other significant amount of Tura limestone which has survived in the tomb formed the fourth wall of this chamber, dividing the tomb (cut originally as one large cavity) into two main rooms.⁶⁰ Since the sbht in question is determined with the wall-sign it is tempting to identify this wall with the sbht of the text, in which case the rwt would probably refer to a false-door. The original meaning of sbht as a term for the screening walls in front of an entrance could have led easily to the use of the term for another kind of wall and it is perhaps surprising that sbht did not develop such an alternative meaning. However it is impossible to be certain that there were not, originally, further elements in the tomb made of the Tura stone, particularly as the tomb has been damaged extensively by later re-use.⁶¹

A text of the First Intermediate Period shows that there could be sbhwt in private houses, since an individual describes the founding of his pr and the enlarging of every sbht in it.⁶² Possibly the sbhwt which are mentioned in the Admonitions as having been destroyed by fire along with wh3w and dryt⁶³ were also a part of a private estate. Apart from these few examples sbht has survived mainly in mythological texts in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom.⁶⁴

Sbht does not appear to have occurred in many titles unlike other building elements, around which a number of officials were stationed. There is one title, iryw sbht, on a Twelfth Dynasty stela from the Theban area; "I was one who entered to his Lord with the great ones at his back, the iryw sbht bending down until I reached the place in which His Majesty was."⁶⁵ Probably these were officials guarding the door but stationed before it within the sbht, like the guardians in the Underworld who also bore the same title.⁶⁶


In the New Kingdom it is necessary to distinguish between the sbht under discussion here and another term, sbht, which was used as the name for a gilded wooden temple screen,⁶⁷ although both words had the same etymological origin and the same basic function. This is illustrated by the fact that in religious texts the sbhwt of the Underworld were sometimes depicted as screens⁶⁸ rather than the more accurate form of stylized "porch".

However other New Kingdom sbhwt were screen-walled porches and

the term is used particularly of sbhwt at Karnak, where, in the reign of Hatshepsut, two officials each record that they inspected sbhwt.⁶⁹ The stela of Amenhotep III from his mortuary temple on the West Bank at Thebes which also describes other building work of the king in the area, includes details of what is probably the Third Pylon at Karnak with "sbhwt in front of it".⁷⁰

Sbht is also found in offering lists of the Nineteenth Dynasty. In the temple of Seti I at Abydos a list of gods to whom offerings are to be made includes Hr m sbht rsy(t) "Horus in the Southern sbht"⁷¹ and Inpw m sbht mht(t) "Anubis in the Northern sbht".⁷² These sbhwt must have been monumental screen-porches rather than wooden screens within the temple. At the Ramesseum a list of beneficiaries from offerings made to the god Re and the Ennead includes, among various gods, barques, shrines and pieces of land, sbht st3(t) imy(t) hwt-
'3t n Iwnw "The secret sbht which is in the hwt-'3t of Heliopolis."⁷³ The phrase is determined with the seated-goddess sign.

There remain further temple sbhwt which were almost certainly monumental screen-walled gateways but which cannot always be identified with any known monuments.

In the Twentieth Dynasty the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, instigated various building projects at Karnak, among which was the erection of a sbht. The text which describes this work is badly damaged but it tells how Amenhotep found the structure, built of brick and wood, in ruins and rebuilt it in stone. The name of the building is lost at the beginning of the text but it is described as a "sbht of stone" towards the end of the passage.⁷⁴ Various elements which went to make up the sbht are listed, including wh3w, htrw and sb3w. These would tend to suggest that this sbht was a monumental gateway. Sauneron regarded the htrw as being the "chambranle" of the door while he took wh3w to refer to the supports of a roof in front of the door.⁷⁵ Sb3w, in this text, is determined by the  sign so almost certainly refers to door-leaves rather than to a door frame. This sbht would seem then to have been a stone structure erected before a main door at Karnak with a light wooden roof supported by columns. Although Sauneron did not attempt to identify this sbht with any extant remains at Karnak, Amenhotep did erect the screen gateway on the South side of the Eighth Pylon of the temple

of Amun⁷⁶ and this could be the sbht to which the text refers. The main objection to this identification is that the High Priest describes the original wood and brick structure as having been built in the reign of Sesostri I⁷⁷ while the Eighth Pylon dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁷⁸ However, in another text Amenhotep also claims to have reconstructed buildings of Sesostri I at Karnak⁷⁹ and it may be the case that this king was particularly venerated and the High Priest wished to associate himself with Sesostri by ascribing to his reign ruined buildings which were in fact of later date.

Also at Karnak, in the reign of Djedhor, an inscription on the exterior wall of the temple of Khonsu records that the king renovated the hwt-ntr of Khonsu in sandstone and made a sacred sbht.⁸⁰ Barguet has suggested that this refers to the Ptolemaic gate of the temple, possibly built by Djedhor and later decorated by Ptolemy III.⁸¹ The Ptolemaic inscriptions on the gateway would seem to call it a sb3,⁸² however, an inscription on the similar gateway of the Montu enclosure at Karnak describes the building of "sbhw(t) of sandstone, with '3wy of cedar, banded with copper."⁸³ The use of the plural here could be intended for all the gateways in the Karnak enclosure walls. The wall of the Amun temple was probably built by Nectanebo I⁸⁴ so that it is quite possible that Djedhor could have completed (or claim to have completed) one of the stone gateways. The gate in the Eastern wall of the Amun temple bears the name of Nectanebo I⁸⁵ as does the similar gate of the temple of Maat.⁸⁶ It would therefore seem likely that all these gates were erected in the Thirtieth Dynasty, although some were decorated by the Ptolemies. This use of sbht to describe such a gateway is an extension of its original meaning. However, these propylons did stand before the main entrance to a temple and were therefore, in a similar position to the older sbhwt. Like many words sbht had a much wider range of meanings in the Ptolemaic period; for example, at Edfu, the rooms immediately around the sanctuary of the temple of Horus were described as sbhw(t),⁸⁷ either because they themselves were particularly sacred and needed protection or because they enclosed and protected the sanctuary. In this era sbht also occurred in the expression sbht t3 pn "sbht of this land", a name which was used for the royal palace.⁸⁸

Sbht can now be seen to have been neither a "door" nor a "gate"

but rather a screen-walled "porch", an architectural element which consisted of projections in front of gateways which could also turn at right-angles to enclose and protect the entrance. This function of the sbht is reflected in the Book of the Dead where the guardian sits within the enclosed space, guarding the door behind him. Although the sbhwt of these mythological texts were depicted in a stylized form in the papyri, a more accurate representation of the screen-walls can be seen in the "Book of Gates" in the tomb of Ramesses VI.⁸⁹

Originally a sbht would have been made of reeds and later of wood so that it is not surprising that early examples have not survived. It is only when the structure has been translated into stone that the sbht, as a building element, can be identified.

The basic function of a sbht was to protect an entrance and make access difficult for unwanted visitors. The same was true of the sbht screens which were used to protect sacred objects from the gaze of those judged unfit to view them. When sbht was extended in meaning in the Ptolemaic period and used to describe the propylons built into the enclosure wall at Karnak, the original function of the sbht was still preserved since these gates provided the only means of access to the main gate of each temple, and thus protected it from unwanted intruders.

1 Urk., I, 20, 6.

2 Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie, 16, B, 9; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II, 166 (Cairo 20543, 15); Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.CL, 137A, 20; Legrain, ASAE 14 (1914), 14.

3 Erman, Die Marchen des Papyrus Westcar, II, pl.VII, 26.

4 Wb., Belegstellen, IV, 24 (ref.92, 1). See also addendum, below p.237.

5 Griffith, PSBA 18 (1896), unnumbered plate (after p.196), 4.






6 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 193a.

7 Gardiner, Admonitions, pl.2, 10.

8 Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.30, 23.



9 Urk., IV, 475, 6; Naville, op. cit., I, pl.CXLVI, 133, 25.

10 Urk., IV, 438, 4.


- 11 Ibid., IV, 1654, 9.
- 12 Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.LXXXIX, recto, 7.
- 13 Ibid., I, pl.XCII, 1, verso, 9.
- 14 Ibid., I, pl.XCII, 1, recto, 4; Wb., Belegstellen, IV, 22 (ref. 83, 9).
- 15 Benedite, Tombeau de Neferhotepou (MMAF 5, fascicule 3) pl.III, 3rd register down, 2nd column from the left.
- 16 KRI, I, 184, 36, B.
- 17 Ibid., I, 184, 34, B.
- 18 Goyon and El-Achirée, Le Ramesseum, VI, frontispiece; 23; pl.VIII.
- 19 Davies, N[orman] de G, Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah, pl.XXV; Borchartt, Statuen und Statuetten, II, 177, No.630; pl.116 (omitting ); LEdrain, Les Monuments égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale, pl.LXX (with  reversed).
- 20 Murray, The Osireion at Abydos, pl.XI,
- 21 Loc. cit.; Wb., Belegstellen, II, 579 (ref.391, 12) quotes an example of  which is taken to be a writing of sb3. However in view of the particular form of the sign, sbht is more likely to be the correct reading.
- 22 Rambova, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, pls.39; 45; 47.
- 23 Ibid., pls.29, 61.
- 24 Winlock, Excavations at Deir el-Bahri, 1911-1931, pl.88.
- 25 Montet, La Necropole royale de Tanis, I, pl.35.
- 26 Bouriant, Rec. de Trav. 11 (1889), 154 (a personal examination of this text at Karnak showed that the determinative is a shorter sign than the  given by Bouriant).
- 27 Urk., II, 18, 4.
- 28 Faulkner, Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, 34, 2; 48, 10.
- 29 Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.30, a, 12; Wb., Belegstellen, IV, 24 (ref.92, 2); Mariette, op. cit., III, pl.68, j and k (with ).
- 30 Ibid., I, pl.13; II, pl.57, a; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 405.
- 31 Wb., Belegstellen, IV, 24 (ref.92, 2); De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36, No.71 (January 1961), 66, 5; Varille, Karnak, I, 3; pl.VI. There are many other ways of writing sbht in the Ptolemaic period, but the variants quoted here seem to occur most frequently.
- 32 Wb., IV, 92, 1-9.




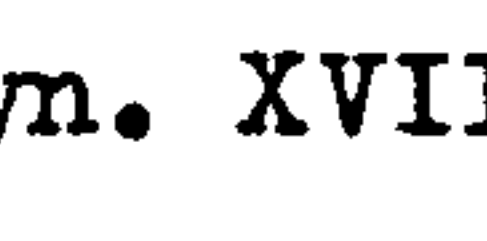



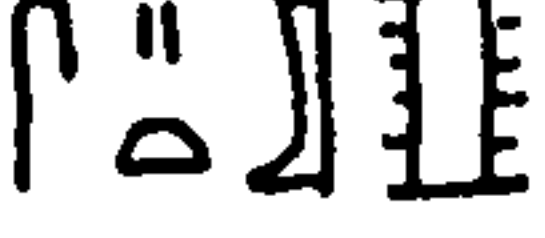
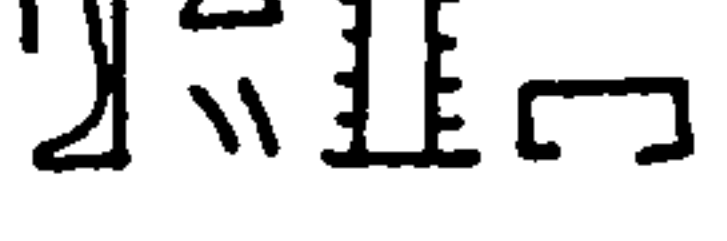

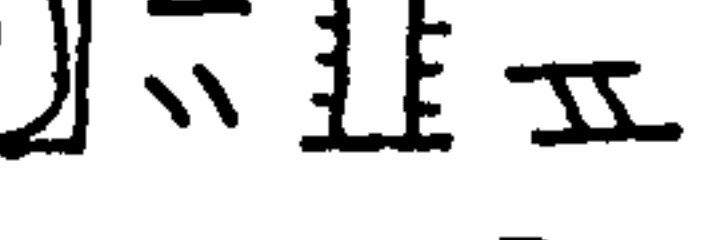

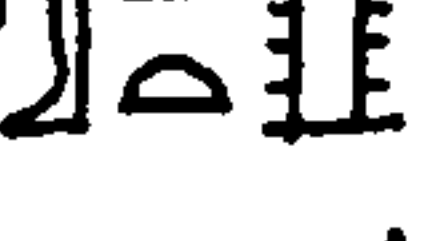
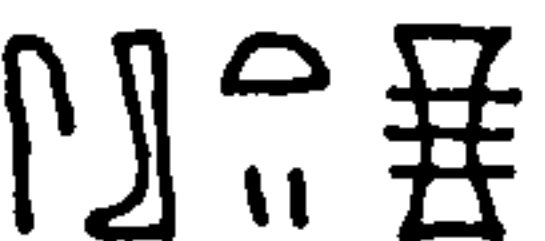
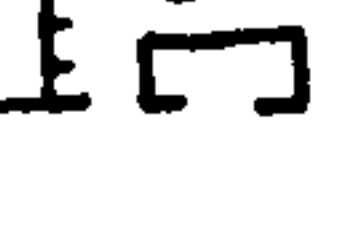






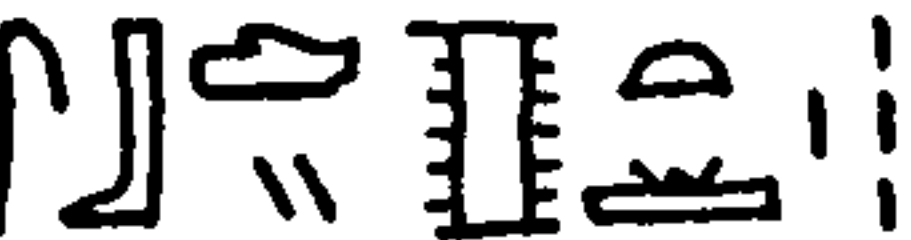








- 33 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.32; 589.
- 34 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 220.
- 35 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 422.
- 36 Černý, (Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 148), notes that the Coptic CBYE (Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 324a) may have been related to sbḥt.
- 37 Wb., IV, 91, 10-20; Faulkner, loc. cit..
- 38 Compare Wb., IV, 91 and 92.
- 39 Barguet, Temple, 311.
- 40 Janssen, Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period, 389 (There is, in fact, no evidence to support the view that a sbḥt at Deir el-Medina was a door-frame and Janssen cites no references for this. Since sbḥt does not have this meaning elsewhere it is unlikely to have been used in this way.)
- 41 Sauneron, BIFAO 64 (1966), 15, note m; see also Ibid., 16, note o.
- 42 Erman, op. cit., II, pl.VII, 26.
- 43 Möller, Hieratische Palaeographie, II, 584.
- 44 Erman, op. cit., II, 23.
- 45 Ibid., II, pl.VII, 26.
- 46 Möller, op. cit., III, 340; 341.
- 47 Ibid., I, 341. Compare; Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, Palaeography, pl.VIII, 0.17; IX, 0.32.
- 48 Gardiner, op. cit., Sign List, 0.13.
- 49 Ibid., Sign List, 0.14.
- 50 PM., II, 189; Barguet, op. cit., 246; pl.XXXIII, B.
- 51 PM., II, pl.XV, 585, g-j.
- 52 Legrain, loc. cit..
- 53 As before the following pylons at Karnak; Second (PM., II, pl.VII), Third (Ibid., II, pl.X), Eighth (Ibid., II, pl.XIV).
- 54 Rambova, op. cit., pls.29; 39; 45; 47; 59; 61.
- 55 Budge, The Book of the Dead (Papyrus of Ani), pls.11 and 12; Compare Naville, op. cit., I, pl.CLXV (ḥrryt) with ibid., I, pl.CLX (sbḥt).
- 56 For representations of the sbḥwt of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 146, see; Naville, op. cit., I, pls.CLX-CLXIV; Allen, The Egyptian Book of the Dead, pls.LXXXVIII-LXXXIX.
- 57 Urk., I, 20, 6.
- 58 Wb., IV, 92, 3.
- 59 Hassan, Giza, IV, 173, fig.120; 174-175.

- 60 Ibid., IV, 170-172; 173, fig.120; 175.
- 61 Ibid., IV, 160.
- 62 Lange and Schäfer, loc. cit..
- 63 Gardiner, Admonitions, pl.II, 10-11.
- 64 De Buck, loc. cit.; Clère and Vandier, loc. cit.; Erman, op. cit., II, pl.VII, 26; For a possible further writing of sbht in the Coffin Texts see; De Buck, op. cit., I, 253d, but note Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 55, note 9.
- 65 Griffith, loc cit..
- 66 Montet, loc. cit.; In Faulkner, Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, 48, 10 the guardians of the sbhwt of the Underworld are called s3w nw sbhwt.
- 67 Spencer, JEA 66 (1980), (forthcoming).
- 68 Naville, ops cit., I, pls.CLV; CLXIV.
- 69 Urk., IV, 438, 4; 475, 6.
- 70 Urk., IV, 1654, 9. The Third Pylon at Karnak does, in fact, have a sbht before the door (PM., II, pl.X) which was decorated mainly by Seti I and Ramesses II but, as there are remains of a scene of Amenhotep IV, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the sbht is of the same date as the pylon.
- 71 KRI, I, 184, 34, B.
- 72 KRI, I, 184, 36, B.
- 73 Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 906.
- 74 Sauneron, op. cit., pl.II.
- 75 Ibid., 16, note o.
- 76 PM., II, 176; pl.XIV.
- 77 Sauneron, op. cit., pl.II, x+4.
- 78 This pylon was erected by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (PM., II 174; pl.XIV; Barguet, Temple, 258-264). Barguet (Ibid., 258) suggests that the present stone pylon was built on the site of an earlier structure, probably made of brick, but there is no evidence that such a pylon, if it existed, was the work of Sesostris I. This king does, however, seem to have built extensively at Karnak (PM., II, 108; Barguet, op. cit., 153+155; 356, index).
- 79 Mariette, Karnak, pl.40. See also Lefebvre, Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak, 187.
- 80 Bouriant, loc. cit..
- 81 Barguet, op. cit., 29-30, especially note (2).

- 82 Clère, La Porte d'Evergète a Karnak, pls.19, 75. On pl.19, B the gate is called a  which could be restored as either sb[3] or sb[ht]. The other three inscriptions use the ideogram  (pl. 19, A; 75 (twice)). This could be read as sbht but the absence of a feminine ending on the qualifying adjective '3 "great" would suggest that it was the masculine noun sb3 which was intended. The form of the sign, without a cobra or hkr frieze would also support a reading of sb3 rather than sbht.
- 83 Varille, loc. cit..
- 84 Barguet, op. cit., 29.
- 85 PM., II, 208.
- 86 Ibid., II, 11-12. This gate, leading to the temple of Maat, is in fact in the enclosure wall of the Montu temple (Ibid., II, pls.II; IV, 2).
- 87 De Wit, op. cit., 66, 5; 68, 11.
- 88 Wb., II, 92, 7.
- 89 Rambova, op. cit., pls.29; 39; 45; 47; 59; 61.

Addendum.

A writing of sbht, , is found on one of the blocks from the sandstone building of Tuthmosis IV at Karnak (Letellier, Hommages à Serge Sauneron, I, 58). The text relates to a depiction of the door of the Fourth Pylon, sh̄m šfyt, and Letellier suggests that the sbht is the wooden porch which is known to have existed there (Yoyotte, Ch. d'Eg. 55 (1953), 28-38). Until the entire block is properly published so that the text can be related to the scene it describes the identification must remain open to doubt.

<u>sbty</u>	
 Dyn. XVIII, Ph. Arr., ¹ Ptol., Roman	 Dyn. XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, ² XXII, XXV, Ptol.
 Dyn. XVIII ³	 Dyn. XVIII ⁴
 Dyn. XIX ⁶	 Dyn. XIX ⁷
 Dyn. XIX ⁹	 N.K. ⁵
 Dyn. XX, XXVI ¹¹	 Dyn. XIX ⁸
 Dyn. XX ¹⁴	 Dyn. XX ¹⁰
 Dyn. XXV ¹⁷	 Dyn. XX ¹²
 Alex. II ²⁰	 Dyn. XX ¹³
 Ptol. ²³	 Dyn. XX or ¹⁵ XXI
 Ph. Arr. ²¹	 Dyn. XXII, ¹⁶ Ptol.
 Roman ²⁴	 Dyn. XXVI or ¹⁸ XXVII
 Roman ²⁵	 Dyn. ¹⁹ XXX
 Roman ²⁶	 Ptol. ²²
<u>sbty n wmtt</u>	
 Dyn. XVIII ²⁷	 Dyn. XVIII ²⁸
 Dyn. XVIII ²⁹	 Dyn. ³⁰ XVIII

On the evidence of published texts, sbty does not seem to have been used prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty. This may be due to the relative paucity of building inscriptions before this date, or sbty could be a new word, coined, presumably, during the Second Intermediate Period, although it does not appear to be a loan word from any other Near Eastern language. Sbty does, however, survive into demotic³¹ and Coptic³² as well as the modern languages; Arabic, Dongolese and Nubian.³³

The meaning of the term is not in question since, from the contexts in which it is found, it clearly referred to an enclosure wall. The earliest extant reference to a sbty is in the text of Kamose, found on his first stela and also on Carnavon Tablet I. In describing his attack on the town of Neferusy the king claims to have hacked down his (the

ruler's) sbtYW and killed his people.³⁴ In this case the sbtYW must have been the walls of the town. The use of the plural is interesting, but probably refers only to the various walls making up the outer perimeter of the town, rather than to more than one enclosure wall.

It is possible that, in origin, a sbtY was a town enclosure wall rather than that of a temple, as it is used in the former sense also of the wall of the town of Kadesh³⁵ which was breached by the army of Tuthmosis III, and of the wall at Megiddo. In the latter case, however, the wall around the besieged town was built by the Egyptians to prevent the escape of the inhabitants.

This seige is described in several texts where the wall is called both a sbtY and a sbtY n wmtt, showing that there was no difference between the two terms. The essence of the various texts is that the king surrounded Megiddo with a sbtY (n wmtt) to deprive the townspeople of the breath of life.³⁶ Tuthmosis described this as a "prison (ḥnrt) of their own making",³⁷ by which he, presumably, meant that the inhabitants had chosen to undergo the seige rather than surrender, and not that the wall itself was built by them. The king refused to allow any of the townspeople to come out on to the sbtY³⁸ until they were ready to surrender. The use of sbtY to describe the seige-wall of Megiddo is unusual since sbtY is more often found to describe the defensive wall of a town or the protective wall of a temple.

Only two further examples of sbtY n wmtt are known, both from the Eighteenth Dynasty. A stela from Heliopolis records that Tuthmosis III ordered the r-pr to be enclosed by a sbtY n wmtt³⁹ and Amenhotep III built a sbtY n wmtt around his ḥwt nt ḥḥw m rnpwt at Memphis.⁴⁰ The addition of "n wmtt" to the more common noun sbtY probably only serves to emphasis the thickness and strength of the wall. There is no structural difference between the two, as can be seen from the fact that both were used of the same wall, at Megiddo.

Further examples are known of the use of sbtY to indicate the wall of a town or city. In the reign of Amenhotep II captives were hung from the sbtY of both Thebes and Napata,⁴¹ while the same king, in his campaigns in the East, was greeted at Ny by the townspeople upon their sbtY.⁴² Other town walls are called sbtYW on the stela which records Pianchi's conquest of Egypt. At Lisht a distinction was made between the main fortified enclosure, the sbtY, which was closed and the actual walls of the buildings, the inbw, which were

full of soldiers,⁴³ while at Memphis the sbtj had been raised in height to withstand the Nubian attack.⁴⁴ At Neferusy the sbtj had been overthrown by Nimlot.⁴⁵

The frequent use of sbtj to describe a town wall led to its appearance in the names of towns and cities.⁴⁶ This can be seen particularly in a name for Alexandria "The sbtj of Alexander".⁴⁷

The other main use of sbtj was as a temple enclosure wall. Such walls were huge affairs, built high and thick to protect the sacred area both physically and symbolically. Often their construction must have taken almost as long as the building of the stone temple and the walls have survived in some places as well preserved as the temples they were designed to protect.⁴⁸ The examples of the term used to describe temple enclosure walls are legion and need not all be examined in detail.

There are inscriptions of various dates which note the building⁴⁹ or renewing of the enclosure walls around the temple of Amun at Karnak, including work of Ramesses II,⁵⁰ Siptah,⁵¹ Ramesses III,⁵² Menkheperre,⁵³ Taharqa,⁵⁴ Montuemhat⁵⁵ and Nectanebo I.⁵⁶ Other sbtjw at Karnak include a Ptolemaic wall around the temple of Khonsu-Neferhotep⁵⁷ and a Roman wall around the temple of Mut.⁵⁸ This last wall was built in the reign of Tiberius when the sbtj of Geb at Koptos was also renewed.⁵⁹

Much building work on enclosure walls was carried out by Ramesses III and Papyrus Harris I records the erection of a sbtj at Medinet Habu⁶⁰ and at the temples of Osiris at Abydos,⁶¹ of Anhur at Thinis,⁶² of Thoth at Hermopolis⁶³ and of Wepwawet at Siut.⁶⁴ The wall of the temple of Medinet Habu is also recorded on a stela from the north side of the second pylon of the temple.⁶⁵ Further work on the same enclosure was undertaken in the reign of Taharqa.⁶⁶

Other walls at other sites include a sbtj of Amenhotep III at Soleb,⁶⁷ one of Merenptah at Memphis⁶⁸ and the Ptolemaic wall of the temple at Koptos.⁶⁹ Petrie decided that this last sbtj must refer to the inner stone wall rather than to the brick wall because of the measurements which are given in the text.⁷⁰ This would also seem to be so in the case of a Twenty-Second Dynasty sbtj. A hieratic papyrus states that formulae are to be recited before the images of Amun and Thoth on (hr) a sbtj of Kheperkare (Sesostris I) at Karnak.⁷¹ Since figures were not depicted on brick walls sbtj must, in this case,

refer to a stone wall, either dating from or in commemoration of the reign of Sesostris I.

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Other Graeco-Roman sbtyw include one around the temple at Athribis and that of the temple of Esna upon which the townspeople stood to watch the ceremonies in the enclosure.⁷³

One problematical reference to a sbty occurs in a Twentieth Dynasty papyrus recording the names of the citizens of the West Bank at Thebes. The list is headed; "List of the men.....every man of every house which is (in) the sbty of the hwt" of Ramesses III "from the hwt" of Seti I "as far as the hwt" of Ramesses III.⁷⁴ This would seem to imply that an enclosure wall encompassed the whole of the West Bank from Gurna to Medinet Habu which is clearly not possible. One can only conclude that sbty is here being used as a general term for the land and property which was under the administrative control of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.

Since the sbty was such an important part of the defensive system of any temple or town, it is hardly surprising to find that it was used frequently in epithets of both the king and the gods to emphasise their strength and symbolise the protection which they gave to Egypt. Typical examples of this are; "a sbty which protects Egypt" (of Amenhotep II),⁷⁵ "my sbty of a million cubits" (Akhenaten describing the Aten),⁷⁶ "a sbty of quartzite" (Thoth describing Seti I)⁷⁷ and "a sbty for his soldiers on the day of battle" (of Ramesses II).⁷⁸

There are a few texts in which sbty is used to enclose something other than a temple or a town but the sense of the term as a strong defensive wall remains the same. It could be employed to describe a wall around cattle,⁷⁹ a well⁸⁰ and a vineyard.⁸¹


The Wörterbuch gives three main meanings for this word "an enclosure wall",⁸² "a fortress"⁸³ and "the wall of a room".⁸⁴ For the second of these the Belegstellen gives references to those texts in which sbty is used for town enclosure walls, so "fortress" is not a particularly apposite translation. For the third meaning three texts are quoted. One is the Golenischeff Onomasticon where sbty occurs after wsj and before tsmt, lnb and mrrt.⁸⁵ Gardiner, in his commentary to the Onomasticon, translates sbty in this text as "surrounding wall"⁸⁶ and there does not seem to be any valid reason for suggesting another, less common, translation. Another of the texts referred to is a damaged building inscription from the Festival Hall of king

Osorkon II at Bubastis; "///]all its sbtyw in electrum and wh3w-columns [/////".⁸⁷ The context would suggest that these walls are part of the Festival Hall itself and the mention of electrum implies that they were stone walls with gilding rather than brick walls.

In this case, therefore, sbty probably does refer to a wall of a building and not to an enclosure wall. This is also true of the third example given by the Wörterbuch where sbty is used for interior walls in a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb. Four stelae were set into each wall with a text detailing the recitations which were to be made at the North, South, East and West sbty of the tomb.⁸⁸

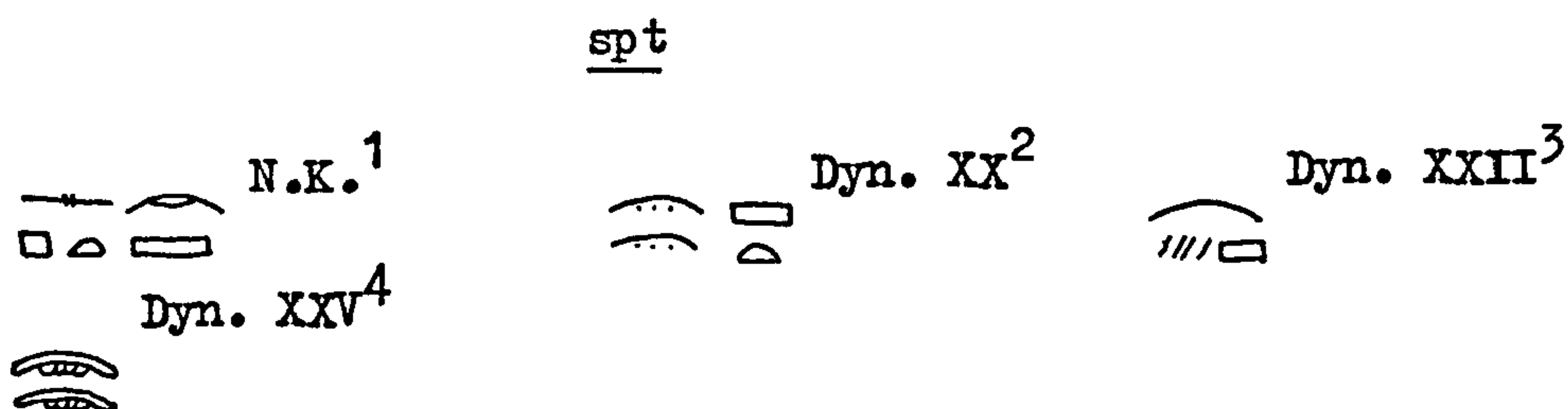
These are, however, isolated examples of sbty being used in such a way. The original and true meaning of sbty was a large defensive enclosure wall, usually built of brick. Such walls were erected principally around temples and towns, although sbty could be used of any kind of protecting enclosure. The main attributes of a sbty were its size and strength and this is emphasised by the occasional addition of n wmtt in the Eighteenth Dynasty. For this reason sbty was not used as a regular term for any other kind of wall.

- 1 Lacau, ASAE 39 (1939), pl.XXXVII, 15; Daressy, ASAE 18 (1919), 144, S, IX, 10; Urk., II, 66, 13; Erman, ZÄS 38 (1900), 124.
- 2 Urk., IV, 184, 16; 894, 17; KRI, I, 190, 15; 194, 1; Louvre stela C.94 (see Pierret, Insc. Louvre, II, 50 which, however, wrongly gives Δ in place of Δ); Legrain, Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report, 1906-1907, 21, 1; Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, II, pl.33, 4-5; Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, II, 34, fig.31; Erman, op. cit., 126.
- 3 Urk., IV, 661, 12; 758, 12; 1312, 3;
- 4 Blancenberg Van Delden, The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III, pl.X, B.4.
- 5 Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten, II, 144, No.589.
- 6 KRI, I, 111, 6; Naville, Les Quatres Stèles Orientées du Musée de Marseille, pl.XII-XIV.
- 7 KRI, II, 91, 15.
- 8 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 14, 15; Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.VII, 2 verso, 2.
- 9 Gaballa, BIFAO 71 (1972), 131, fig.1; pl.XXIII.

- 10 Gardiner, Onom., pl.XI, (Gloss. Gol. 5, 16).
- 11 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 67, 11; Legrain, ZÄS 35 (1898), 19, 2 and 3.
- 12 Habachi, Kêmi 20 (1970), 233, fig.2; 234, fig.3.
- 13 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, I, pl.28, 67.
- 14 Erichsen, op. cit., 4, 10; 94, 6-7; et al..
- 15 Černy and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.LXXX, verso, 4.
- 16 Naville, The Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889), pl.VI, frag.11. Wreszinszki, Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien, 97, I, 27, 6.
- 17 Urk., III, 6, 12; 26, 14; 31, 3.
- 18 Ibid., III, 134, 2.
- 19 Habachi, op. cit., 231, fig1; pl.XXIa.
- 20 Urk., II, 14, 14.
- 21 Daressy, op. cit., 145, 12-13.
- 22 Urk., II, 217, 1.
- 23 Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.62, h.
- 24 Reinach and Weill, ASAE 12 (1912), 2.
- 25 Sauneron, Esnā, III, 11, 197, 18.
- 26 Reinach and Weill, op. cit., 12.
- 27 Urk., IV, 832, 13 (the copy of the same text in LD., III, 29b, has 11 instead of 13.)
- 28 Urk., IV, 661, 4, 5.
- 29 Ibid., IV, 767, 11. This was taken by Gardiner (JEA 38 (1952), 11) as inb n wmtt, to which he compared a text of Tuthmosis III in the Festival Hall at Karnak where the Megiddo siege wall is described as an inb wmtt () (Ibid., pl.IV, 14 and Urk., IV, 1254, 9). See further under inb p. 25-26.
- 30 Urk., IV, 1795, 14.
- 31 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 423; Ray, The Archive of Hor, 151.
- 32 Černy, Coptic Etymological Dictionary, 148; Ösing, Nominalbildung, 394; Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 177.
- 33 Roquet, BIFAO 71 (1972), 100-101; See also Yoyotte, Rev. d'Eg. 15 (1963), 106ff.
- 34 Lacau, loc. cit..
- 35 Urk., IV, 894, 17.
- 36 Urk., IV, 184, 16; 767, 11 (see also under inb p.25); 661, 4, 5; 758, 12; See Grapow, Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten, 56-57.

- 37 Urk., IV, 184, 15.
- 38 Ibid., IV, 661, 12.
- 39 Ibid., IV, 832, 13.
- 40 Ibid., IV, 1795, 14.
- 41 Ibid., IV, 1297, 9, 15 and 16.
- 42 Ibid., IV, 1312, 3.
- 43 Ibid., III, 26, 14.
- 44 Ibid., III, 31, 3.
- 45 Ibid., III, 6, 12.
- 46 Gauthier, Dict. Geog., V, 23-26.
- 47 Ibid., V, 24; Brugsch, Dictionnaire Geographique de l'ancienne Egypte, II, 690; Wb., IV, 96, 2.
- 48 E.g. Barguet, Temple, pl.II.
- 49 Ibid., 29ff; Habachi, op. cit., 229-235.
- 50 Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Rameses' II in Karnak, 124.
- 51 Lauffray, Karnak, V, 28. Here and Ibid., 146 (No.3) a stela of Siptah is described as having been found in excavations in the South-East corner of the Amun enclosure. It is detailed as "Elle commémore des travaux exécutés dans les remparts.....". "Rempart" is also used to translate sbty which occurs on a different damaged stela found in the same area (pl.XI, B). Although a plate number is not quoted for the Siptah stela it must be the one on pl.IX, opposite p.28, since only one stela of Siptah was found. At the bottom of the stela are two lines of hieroglyphs with a building inscription which ends with; ḥr.n.f m mnw.f n ḥt.f'Imn-R[////////. The final word is not legible on the photograph but presumably the excavators were able to restore the traces sufficiently to read sbty. No hieroglyphic copy, transliteration or translation of this text is given.
- 52 Habachi, op. cit., 234, fig.3.
- 53 Legrain, Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report, 1906-1907, 22, 1.
- 54 Mariette, Karnak, pl.42, 23.
- 55 Wreszinski, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 13 (1910), pl.III, 9.
- 56 Habachi, op. cit., 231, fig.1; pl.XXI, a.
- 57 Erman, op. cit., 126.
- 58 Loc. cit..

- 59 Reinach and Weill, op. cit., 2, 12. The Greek term for the same wall is περίβολου from which one could suppose that the entire enclosure, rather than just the wall, was intended. However, one text (Cairo 31101) specifically states that the sbty was of brick.
- 60 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 10.
- 61 Ibid., 68, 3.
- 62 Ibid., 66, 17.
- 63 Ibid., 67, 11.
- 64 Ibid., 68, 12.
- 65 Habachi, op. cit., 223, fig.2.
- 66 Hölscher, loc. cit..
- 67 Urk., IV, 1750, 6.
- 68 KRI, IV, 32, 13.
- 69 Petrie, Koptos, pl.XX, 17.
- 70 Ibid., 21.
- 71 Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, II, pl.33, 3-4.
- 72 Daressy, op. cit., 145, 12-13.
- 73 Sauneron, loc. cit..
- 74 Peet, loc. cit..
- 75 Urk., IV, 1290, 11 and 12.
- 76 Ibid., IV, 1971, 9.
- 77 KRI, I, 190, 15.
- 78 KRI, II, 91, 15.
- 79 Blancenberg Van Delden, loc. cit..
- 80 Erichsen, op. cit., 94, 6-7.
- 81 Ibid., 10, 7.
- 82 Wb., IV, 95, 10-13.
- 83 Ibid., IV, 96, 1-2.
- 84 Ibid., IV, 96, 3.
- 85 Gardiner, Onom., pl.XI.
- 86 Ibid., II, 213* [444].
- 87 Naville, op. cit., pl.VI, No.11.
- 88 Naville, Les Quatres Steles Orientées du Musée de Marseille, pls. XII; XIII; XIV; XV.



Although there are only a few examples of this term there is no doubt that the meaning of spt was the "base" of a column. It is also, in Papyrus Harris I, used of the "bases" of stelae.⁵

An ostrakon from Deir El-Medineh describes a man as being "like a column (wh3) of reeds, under which is a spt of copper."⁶ Fortunately this figurative use of spt is supported by more concrete examples.

In a hymn to Amun-Re Ramesses III states that he will erect stone columns in the wb3 of the god, with spwt in silver,⁷ while, in the Twenty-Second Dynasty, granite columns in a temple of Ptah were to have "sp[w]t in every stone."⁸

The dual form of the term is used in a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty inscription from the temple of Amun at Karnak where Shabaka erected a wooden porch before the gate of the Fourth Pylon. It was supported by two columns worked with electrum "the spty under them in pure electrum."⁹ In this case, as in those described earlier, the bases would, in fact, have been made of wood or stone and decorated with the metal.


Spt does not appear to have been used as a term for a column-base in either the demotic or Coptic stages of the language.

1 Posener, Catalogue de Ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir El-Médineh, II, pl.49, (No.1217, 3).

2 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Rameses III's Temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, pl.23, A, 18.

3 Badawi [Ahmed], ASAE 44 (1944), 204.

4 Yoyotte, Ch. d'Eg. 18 No.55 (1953), 34.

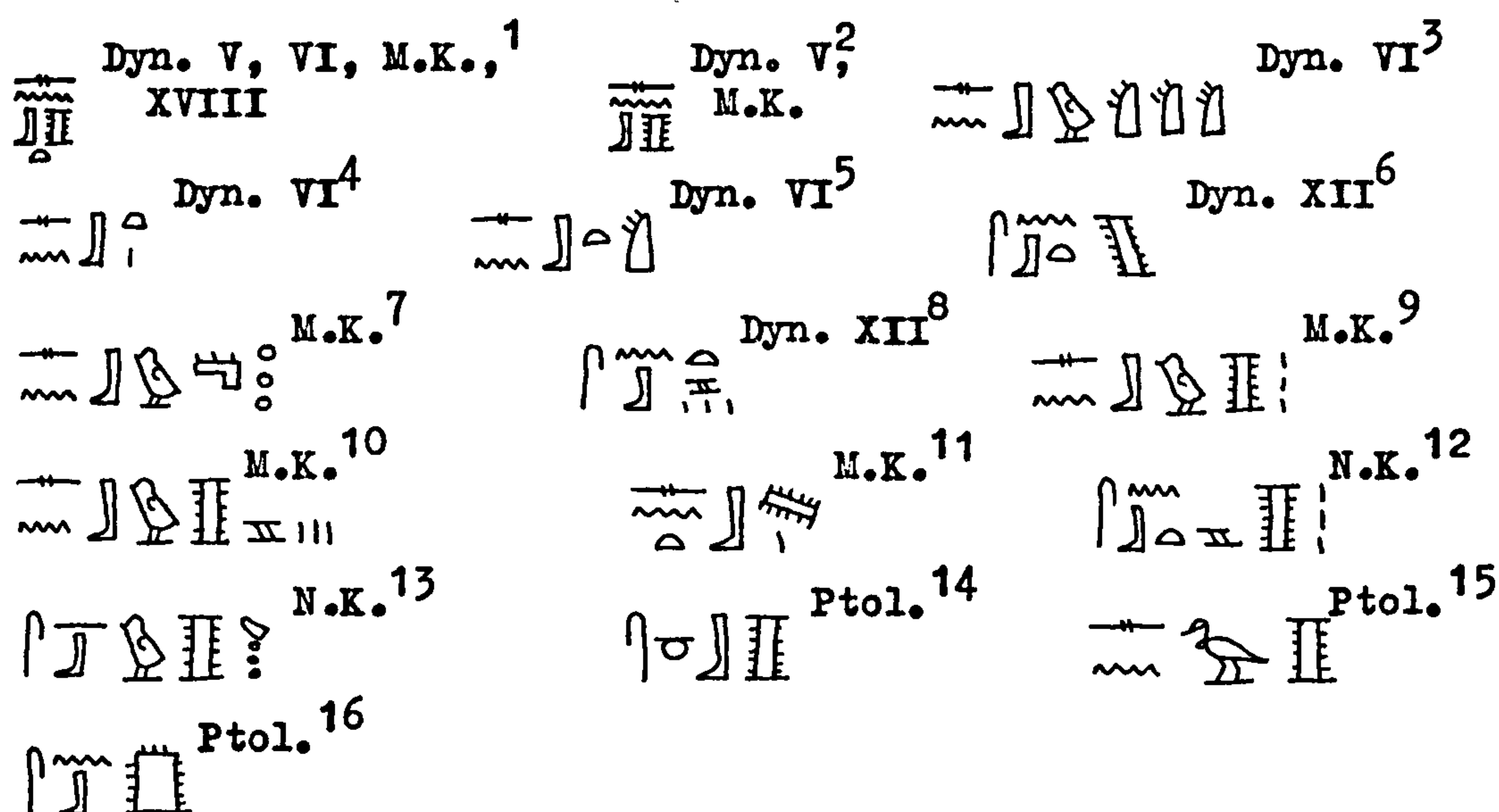
5 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 8, 3 (the term is spelled  and the bases are described as being decorated in silver and gold).

6 Posener, loc. cit.

7 Chicago University, loc. cit.

8 Badawi, loc. cit.


9 Yoyotte, loc. cit.

snb(t)

The writings quoted above are treated here as variants of one word, snb(t), for reasons which will become clear when the textual evidence is assessed. The Wörterbuch, however, preferred to distinguish two terms, a masculine snb translated as "Mauerzinne"¹⁷ and a feminine snbt "Mauer".¹⁸ The same division is followed by Faulkner who translates snbw as "battlements" and snbt as "rampart".¹⁹ This term has not been discussed often,²⁰ one exception to this being the comments of Posener-Kriéger on the two occurrences of the term in the Abusir papyri.

In these papyri snb is found as a part of a door (sb3), which is divided into ds.f "itself", presumably the frame, '3wy.f "its leaves" and snb.f which Posener-Kriéger takes to be the "couronnement" in brickwork above the lintel of the door.²² The other occurrence in these papyri is spelled snbt and is translated as "muraille".²³ This passage, however, also seems to refer to parts of a door (sb3) so it²⁴ is possible that this snbt, which is described as having fallen (h3.ti), is also the coping above the lintel.

Unfortunately snb(t) occurs most frequently in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts in contexts which are of limited value to this study. The term is most often found with reference to "the falcon upon the snbw of the hwt of The-One-whose-Name-is-hidden ('Imn-rn)."²⁵ Other gods are also described as being upon snbw(t), including Sobek, as a hawk,²⁶ and Khnum.²⁷

This idea of gods in bird-form sitting on snbw(t) recurs in Ptol-
emaic²⁸ and it is from these examples that the suggestion of "battle-
ments" as a translation for snbw(t) has arisen. Such a translation
is also supported by the unusual determinative  which is found in
the Pyramid Texts.²⁹ This determinative is used for both snbw and snbt,
indicating that only one term is involved. In addition, in spell 355
of the Coffin Texts, the phrase "Khnum sits on his snbwt" has variants
which show writings of snbw.³⁰

Khnum is also associated with snbwt in the Book of the Dead in an
interesting passage which would also seem to support a translation of
"battlements"; "Khnum has sat ³¹ upon his snbt. If the sky comes with
a north wind, he sits to the south of it. If the sky comes with a south
wind, he sits to the north of it....." ³² This implies that the
god could shelter from the weather behind the snbt.

Another god who is associated, in the Pyramid Texts, with snbw(t)
is Shu, where the snbwt of Shu seem to be obstacles which must be
destroyed before the king can reach heaven.³³ In the Coffin Texts
there are also references to the snbw(t) of the sky.³⁴

The evidence of these religious texts would seem to indicate that
the snbw(t) were battlemented ramparts on the top of buildings. This
translation would also be suitable for two occurrences of the term
on Middle Kingdom stelae.

The first is a stela of the reign of Amenemhat III, which Reisner
found at Kerma. It belongs to an official who records the number of
dbt (bricks, or perhaps blocks of stone) required to build "the snbt
which is in "Walls-of-Amenemhat"!" ³⁵ Reisner originally identified
the place 'Inbw ('Imn-m-hst) with the funerary chapel (?), K.II, at
Kerma³⁶ but it has since been shown that the Egyptian monuments
found at Kerma had been taken there from Egyptian sites with the
result that "Walls-of-Amenemhat" does not have to be a building at
Kerma itself.³⁷ Hintze has suggested that it was perhaps situated
in the region of the second cataract³⁸ and comparison with the name
of an east-Delta fortress, 'Inbw Hk3, "Walls-of-the-Ruler" in the
story of Sinuhe,³⁹ would suggest that "Walls-of-Amenemhat" was also
the name of a fort.

There is an interesting parallel to this stela on another, also
of the reign of Amenemhat III, which was found (or perhaps merely

purchased) at El-Kab. "His majesty ordered that snbwt which are in "Walls-of-Seshemu-tawy" be built////////." ⁴⁰ Unfortunately the rest of the text is lost. Seshemu-tawy is the "Horus" name of Sesostriis II so this can be assumed to have been a fortress named after this king. Since the exact provenance of this stela is uncertain, it may also refer to one of the Nubian fortresses. In these stelae snbwt could well be fortified ramparts.


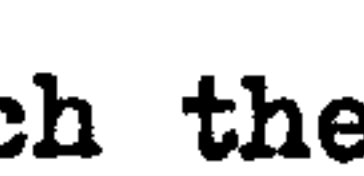
Snbw(t) recurs in hieroglyphic texts of the Ptolemaic period⁴¹ but only one more occurrence from dynastic Egypt has been published. This is on an Eighteenth Dynasty stela, of king Ahmose, from Karnak, which describes a storm during which damage was caused to the Theban temples. The king took measures so that "the monuments of the gods should be established, their snbwt raised up and sacred objects be replaced in the 't špsst."⁴² In such a general description it is not possible to be certain as to the exact nature of the snbwt, but the use of the verb tsi "to raise" ⁴³ would suggest that the snbwt were on the top of the buildings.

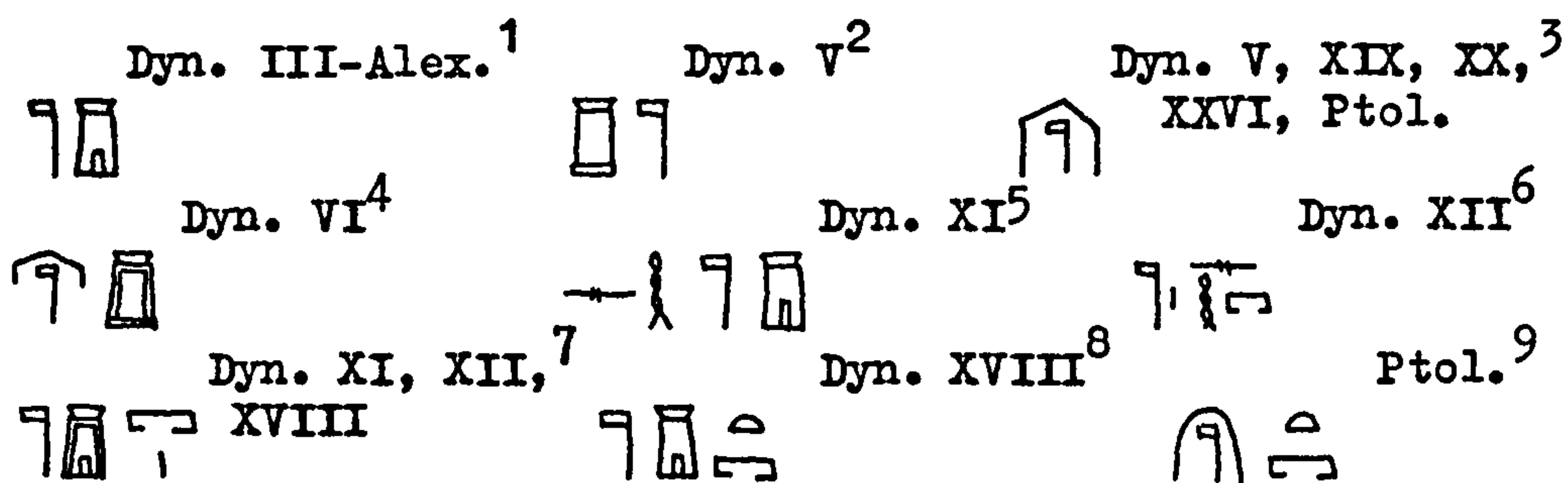
This was never a very common term and, outside of religious texts, examples are few and far between. If, as the evidence suggests, snbt was used particularly to describe the battlemented ramparts of a fortified building, then the lack of examples is hardly surprising since most detailed building texts refer to temples. The original meaning of the term may have been less specific since it appears to have been used in the Fifth Dynasty Abusir papyri to describe the coping above a door.

Snbt does not appear in Erichsen's Demotisches Glossar, nor does it seem to have occurred in Coptic.

- 1 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pl.XXIA, B, 4; Pyr., 1121b; 1955b; De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, V, 2c; Vandersleyen, Rev. d'Eg. 19 (1967), pl.8, x+14; 9, x+19.
- 2 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.IXIXA, b; De Buck, op. cit., V, 2c; VII, 110t.
- 3 Pyr., 1778a.
- 4 Ibid., 299b.
- 5 Loc. cit.; Ibid., 1953b.
- 6 Reisner, Kerma, IV-V, 509, fig.343, No.30.
- 7 De Buck, op. cit., II, 221d; 223a.

- 8 Stobart, Egyptian Antiquities, collected on a voyage made in Upper Egypt in the years 1854 and 1855, pl.1 (Stobart's copy is also reproduced by Legrain in PSBA 27 (1905), plate opposite p.106).
- 9 Gardiner, Rev. d'Eg. 11 (1957), pl.4, 141; De Buck, op. cit., II, 220a; 223a; VII, 220h.
- 10 Ibid., II, 221d; IV, 46g.
- 11 Ibid., V, 2c.
- 12 Blackman, ZAS 49 (1911), 63; Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Text, 129, 3.
- 13 Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.CLX, 2.
- 14 Mariette, Denderah, III, pl.66, a, 3; Dümichen, Kalender Inschriften, p^h.LIX, f, 2; Id., Tempel Inschriften, II, pl.XV, 2.
- 15 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 16, lower, 9.
- 16 Dümichen, op.cit., I, pl.XIX, 3.
- 17 Wb., III, 458, 6.
- 18 Ibid., III, 458, 7.
- 19 Faulkner, Con. Dict., 231.
- 20 One can only note, with interest, the comment of Adams (Nubia, 210); "No-one knows what a snbt was, since the word occurs in no other text".
- 21 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, loc. cit..
- 22 Posener-Kriéger, Archives Néferirkarê, II, 440, note b; Id., Beiträge Bf. 12, Festschrift Ricke, 83.
- 23 Id., Archives Néferirkarê, II, 430.
- 24 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.XXIA, B, 4.
- 25 Pyr., 1778a; De Buck, op. cit., II, 220a; 221d; 223a; VII, 199e.
- 26 Gardiner, loc. cit..
- 27 De Buck, op. cit., V, 2c.
- 28 Chassinat, loc. cit..
- 29 Pyr., 1778a; 1953a.
- 30 De Buck, loc. cit..
- 31 The version in the New Kingdom Papyrus of Nu has 'h^c.n n.î hnm', uses the plural form of snbt and changes the suffix pronoun with hms to the first person (Blackman, op. cit., 63-64).
- 32 Loc. cit.. The text continues in the same vein with regard to the east and west winds. Blackman notes that this Middle Kingdom text is a better version than that of Nu.

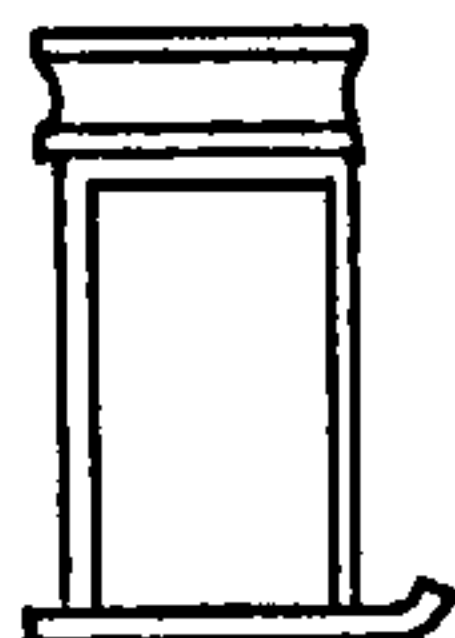
- 33 Pyr., 299b; 1121b; 1953b-1955b.
- 34 De Buck, op. cit., IV, 46g; VII, 110t; 220h.
- 35 Reisner, loc. cit..
- 36 Ibid., I, 126-127.
- 37 Adams, op. cit., 209.
- 38 Hintze, ZÄS 91 (1904), 84.
- 39 Sinuhe, B.17.
- 40 Stobart, loc. cit.. There is a third stela which may once have contained a similar text to those from Kerma and El-Kab. This is a stela of Kamose which was re-used at Buhen. The text is badly preserved but can be restored to read, after the date; "building the (p3)  which the  great 3tw of the city did~~[/ /]~~" (Smith, H.S., The Fortress of Buhen, The Inscriptions, 8-9; pl.II; LVIII, 1). Smith has suggested that the damaged word could be either inb or snb and prefers inb because of the masculine article, p3. Snb(t) does seem to have been a feminine word but it could be written without the t and could, possibly, have been mistaken for a masculine term. The similarity to the other stelae and its provenance make it at least possible that this stela also refers to building activity on the ramparts of a Nubian fortress.
- 41 Dümichen, op. cit., I, pl.XIX, 3; II, pl.XV, 2; Id., Kalender Inschriften, pl.LIX, f, 2; Mariette, loc. cit..
- 42 Vandersleyen, loc. cit..
- 43 Wb., V, 405-407.

sh-ntr

One of the most frequent uses of this term is in the epithet of Anubis hnty sh-ntr.¹⁰ The nature of the sh-ntr in this context has been investigated in detail by Altenmüller¹¹ so this study of the term will be restricted to those examples of sh-ntr, from which the type of building can be identified.

Probably a sh-ntr was originally a temporary booth, made of light materials,¹² erected to perform some function in the festivals of the gods. Evidence is lacking for the existence of the term in the earliest dynasties, outside of its use in epithets. However, there are two tomb-scenes of the Fifth Dynasty in which shrines are labelled specifically as sh-ntr.

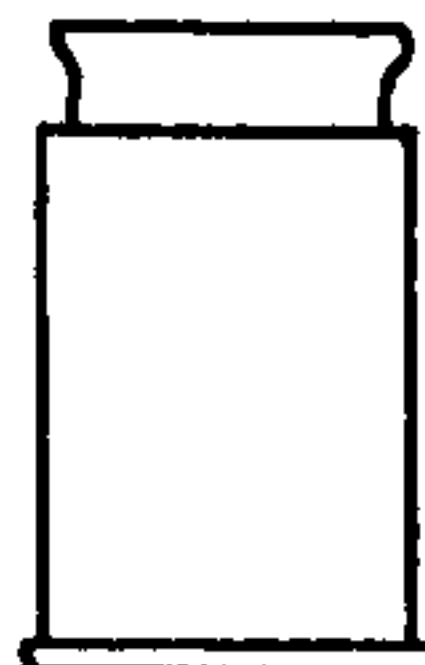
The first is from the tomb of Iymeri at Giza (No.16) and shows



carpenters at work on the funerary equipment of Iymeri. A finished shrine stands alone and is described as; sh-ntr n w'n, "A sh-ntr of juniper".¹³

The second scene occurs in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at

Saqqara. In this scene a shrine of the form



is being polished by a kneeling workman, the entire group being labelled as sn'' sh-ntr, "Polishing the sh-ntr."¹⁴

In both of these examples the sh-ntr is a part of the burial equipment of private individuals, a small wooden shrine.

Other examples of the term in texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms can not be identified¹⁵ with any particular types of building. Fortunately the same is not true of the New Kingdom.

A good example is an ebony shrine of which Naville recovered one side and one door-leaf in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir El-Bahari.¹⁶ Most of the dedication texts are damaged at the point where the name of the shrine should be given, one, however, is preserved, describing the shrine as a sh-ntr špss m hbny n tpw h3swt,

"a noble sh-ntr in ebony of the best of the foreign lands".¹⁷ The shrine stood over six feet tall, was decorated both inside and out and opened with a double-door. It is clearly a shrine made to contain the image of a god, presumably Amun-Re, since it is he to whom the shrine is dedicated. Porter and Moss suggest that it originally stood in a chapel of Amun within the temple.¹⁹

In the reign of Hatshepsut, sh-ntr is also applied to the stone sanctuary of the Amun temple at Karnak. The blocks from this were found in the fill of the Third Pylon.²⁰ One block has a scene of the Queen dedicating electrum before Amun, the electrum being intended "to decorate the noble sh-ntr which she has made."²¹ Lacau and ²² Chevrier have suggested that this text refers to the sanctuary itself and there seems to be no reason to doubt this. Another text may also refer to the same sanctuary as a sh-ntr.

This is the stela of Djehuty which describes work of Hatshepsut, including a st wrt sh-ntr kd(w) m m3t "a st wrt, a sh-ntr built of granite."²³ The main obstacle to the identification of this sh-ntr with the Hatshepsut sanctuary is the fact that the sanctuary is not made entirely of granite, but consists of red quartzite on a base of black granite. This discrepancy is not, however, insurmountable as the Egyptians were often inaccurate when it came to using the correct terminology for building materials and the sanctuary was, in any case, partly made of granite. In addition, the term st wrt was elsewhere applied to the Hatshepsut sanctuary in a text which mentions the building by name.²⁴ It can, therefore, be regarded as a possibility that the sh-ntr of the Djehuty stela is this sanctuary, particularly as there is no other edifice named on the stela which could be so identified. It is unlikely that this chronicle of Hatshepsut's works for Amun should omit the sanctuary of the main temple.

Other blocks from this sanctuary mention a further sh-ntr at Karnak. This is the alabaster barque-shrine of Amenhotep I which was also used in the Third Pylon.²⁵ A dedication inscription on the shrine itself describes it as "the sh-ntr (named) 'Imn-mn-mnw in alabaster of Hatnub, with c3w upon it in Asian copper,"²⁶ while on the blocks of Hatshepsut (Nos. 102 and 128) it is called "the sh-ntr of alabaster (named) 'Imn-mn-mnw."²⁷ The scene on block 102 has been published, previously, by Lacau²⁸ and shows the barque of Amun resting on a pedestal within the alabaster shrine.

Three writings of sh-ntr occur in an incomplete building text of Tuthmosis III from Karnak. The first refers to the shrine on the sacred barque of Amun "Amun-user-het"²⁹ and the second to the monolithic alabaster naos, within which were carved two seated figures, of Amun and Amenit, and which the king placed in the Eastern temple at Karnak.³⁰ The text describes this naos as "a sh-ntr.....from one block of stone."³¹ The third example refers to the alabaster barque-shrine in the way-station of Tuthmosis III, to the south of the Seventh Pylon,³² describing it as "a sh-ntr.....in lustrous alabaster of Hatnab."³³





Each of these examples, all of which can be identified, accord well with the evidence that a sh-ntr could be either a shrine in which the image of a god could reside, or a barque shrine in which the god could rest when he was carried in procession.

Other texts of the New Kingdom mention shw-ntr which were almost certainly cult or barque-shrines. Another of the buildings listed on the stela of Djehuty is a sh-ntr called "Horizon of the god" (3ht ntr).³⁴ This sh-ntr is also called a st wrt, indicating that it was a shrine in which the image of the god could rest.

A scene in the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes shows copper being brought from Retenu to cast the doors (3w) of the sh-ntr of Amun at Karnak.³⁵

Undoubtedly the term continued to be used for such shrines throughout the dynastic period, although continuous evidence for this has not survived. However, in the Thirtieth Dynasty a monolithic red granite shrine, parts of which were found at Shubra Hor in the Delta, was described as a "very great sh-ntr,"³⁶

Unfortunately sh-ntr seems also to have broadened in meaning until it became a synonym for hwt-ntr, helped, no doubt, by the fact that the two terms employed similar groupings. Where a writing of

 has been treated syntactically as a feminine noun, I have taken it to be an example of hwt-ntr, because writings such as  show that the sign  could be substituted for  in hwt-ntr.³⁷

There are occasions, however, when sh-ntr was used to mean "temple!" For example the Annal Inscriptions of Tuthmosis III are described as having been recorded; hr sh-ntr pn "upon this sh-ntr",³⁸ the use of the masculine, pn, suggesting that the group is to be read as sh-ntr and not as the feminine hwt-ntr. Another text of the same reign uses

sh-ntr to mean "temple". It occurs on an architrave from the king's temple at El-Kab, in a largely destroyed dedication text.³⁹

In the Nineteenth Dynasty a dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II from the forecourt of the temple of Luxor describes this court as "a wsht hbyt for the sh-ntr in sandstone",⁴⁰ certainly referring to the entire temple. It is also of note that a Memphite temple could be called either; sh-ntr 3h(Stl-mry-Pth) m pr Pth⁴¹ or hwt-ntr 3h(Stl-mry-Pth) m pr Pth.⁴²

Another case in which sh-ntr is used to mean "temple" is with regard to the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. A dedication text of Herihor⁴³ describes "making festal his sh-ntr as a fine monument for eternity."




In the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu a scene depicting the preparation of food in the temple slaughterhouse includes a row of men carrying offerings which are destined to go "to the sh-ntr",⁴⁴ and a text of Seti II at Karnak relates that it was this king "who increases his (Amun's) pr, who embellishes his sh-ntr as an excellent work of eternity."⁴⁵

In the Graeco-Roman period sh-ntr could also be used of a single room within a temple⁴⁶ and there is evidence to show that this may have been true in earlier periods. An incomplete text on the east wall of room 29 in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III mentions a sh-ntr hry-ib hwt-Wsr-m3-t-r mry-Imn [m] pr Imn.⁴⁷ In this expression hwt refers to the temple itself so that it can only be concluded that sh-ntr is being applied to room 29.⁴⁸ One further use of the term was to describe the Serapeum at Saqqara,⁴⁹ a complex which was also regarded as a hwt-ntr.⁵⁰

Erichsen cites only one reference for sh-ntr in demotic, translating the expression as "Götteshalle".⁵¹ The term did not recur in Coptic.



A sh-ntr, therefore, in the pre- and protodynastic periods, was probably a light booth, or shrine, erected for specific festivals. In the Old Kingdom it is attested as a term for a shrine, forming a part of the funerary equipment of private individuals. Although the textual evidence has not been preserved, it would seem likely that sh-ntr could always have been used to describe the shrine in a cultus temple in which the image of the god was kept. By the New Kingdom it was also applied to a barque shrine in which the god could rest when his image was carried in procession and to the

shrine on the barque itself. At the same time, however, either by extension of meaning or through confusion with hwt-ntr, sh-ntr came to mean "temple". It could also, at least in the Graeco-Roman period, and probably earlier, be used for one specific room within a temple.

- 1 The actual form of the shrine can vary and can be depicted in great detail. Murray, Saqqara Mastabas, pls.I; II; XX; Dunham and Simpson, The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, figs.3a; 6; 40; Urk., I, 120, 10; 198, 3; Clère and Vandier, Textes de la première Période intermédiaire et de la XIème Dynastie, 30, T), 1 and 3; Urk., VII, 2, 2; 43, 6; IV, 296, 6; 427, 15; 734, 15; 829, 10; 1341, 16; Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x + 6; x + 14; x + 20; Lacau, ASAE 26 (1926), pl.IV (between p.130 and 131); Pillet, ASAE 24 (1924), 57; Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 155; Helck, ZÄS 83 (1958), pl.III, 27; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, III, 173, 16-21; LDT, I, 15; Jéquier, L'architecture, III, pl.1.
- 2 Moussa and Altenmuller, Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep, pl.62.
- 3 LD, II, 49, b (the group as reproduced by Lepsius is ). The copy of the same text, by Champollion (Monuments de L'Egypte et de la Nubie, IV, pl.CCCCXII, 1) has . Whatever the actual form of the sign it is clearly intended to be for ); KRI, I, 310, 2 and 3; Chicago University, op. cit., VII, pl.486, C, 2; Vercoutter, Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 17; pl.II; Mariette, Denderah, II, pl.22; Urk., II, 63, 11; 69, 16.
- 4 Pyr., 2100c.
- 5 Clère and Vandier, op. cit., 25, E), 1.
- 6 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 196a (BIOc^b).
- 7 Arnold, Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir El-Bahari, II, pls.22; 23; De Buck, op. cit., I, 196a; Urk., IV, 421, 10; 1150, 12.
- 8 Urk., IV, 1423, 17 (with the masculine article p3).
- 9 Chassinat, Edfou, I, 358.
- 10 Wb., III, 465, 1-3.
- 11 Altenmuller, Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux 22 (1971-1972), 307-317.
- 12 The simple term, sh, was not generally used of temples or parts thereof; one exception to this being in the Graeco-Roman period

when it could, like sh-ntr, be used of a room in a temple (Wb., III, 464, 3-21). The sh itself seems to have been a light construction supported by a wooden column, see; Wb., Belegdtellen, III, 129, (ref.464, 3).

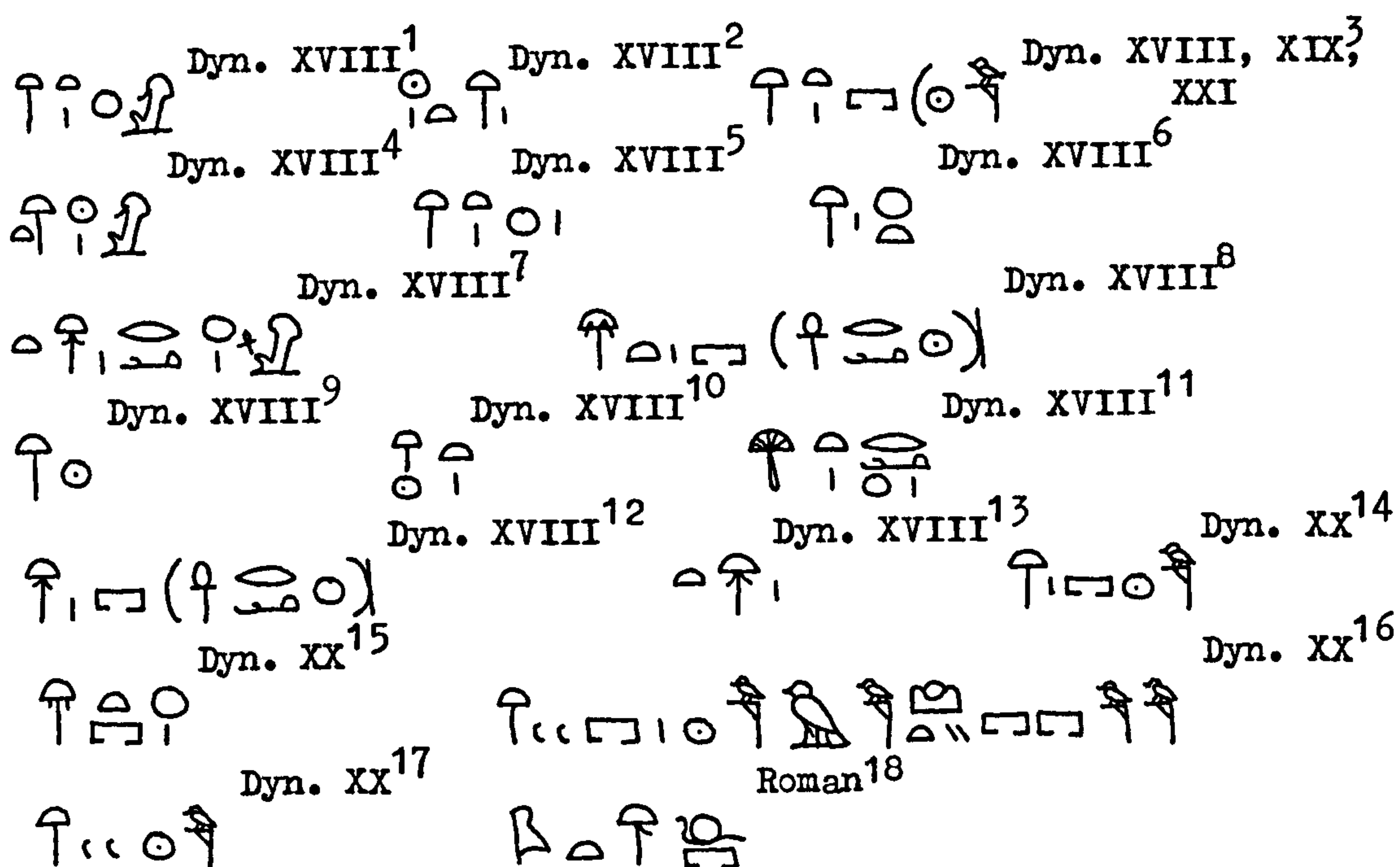
- 13 LD., II, 49, b (see note 3 above). The term w'n is translated by Faulkner (Con. Dict., 57) as "juniper(?)". The Wörterbuch restricts itself to the less specific "Conifer" (Wb., I, 285, 16-20; 286, 1-4). In view of the fact that the juniper is a red wood (Lucas and Harris, Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, 437) and a shrine made of w'n is coloured red in a tomb scene from Deir El-Gebrawi (Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El-Gebrâwi, II, pl.X), the identification of w'n with juniper seems likely. The term used for the shrine at Deir El-Gabrawi is, unfortunately, not preserved. All that remains of the label is [////]n w'n. It is possible, however, that the missing term is to be restored as sh-ntr.
- 14 Moussa and Altenmüller, loc. cit..
- 15 E.g., Pyr., 2100c; Arnold, op. cit., pls.22; 23; 52, No. 4931; Urk., VII, 2, 2.
- 16 Naville, Deir El-Bahari, II, 1-4; pls.XXV-XXIX. This shrine, which is now in the Cairo Museum, is also described as a iwnn, see p.22.
- 17 Ibid., pl.XXVII (Urk., IV, 296, 6).
- 18 PM, II, 355.
- 19 Ibid., 363-364; pl.XXXVI, 4, IX.
- 20 Lacau and Chevrier, Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, I, 23-44,
- 21 Ibid., 231, 366.
- 22 Ibid., 231, 367.
- 23 Urk., IV, 427, 15.
- 24 Ibid., 167, 3. This text also calls the sanctuary a hm and describes it as being made of inr n rwdt n dw dšr "quartzite" (Harris, Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals, 76). Another of the blocks from the shrine also uses the term hm and describes it (for once accurately) as being made of both quartzite (rwdt nt dw dšr) and granite (m3t) (Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 261, 411).
- 25 PM, II, 63-64.
- 26 Pillet, loc. cit..
- 27 Lacau and Chevrier, op. cit., 195, 286.
- 28 Lacau, ASAE 26 (1926), pl.IV, B (between p.130 and 131).

- 29 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, fig.7, x + 6.
- 30 PM, II, 216-217. For views of this naos see; Varille, ASAE 50 (1950), pls.VII-XII.
- 31 Nims, op. cit., fig.7, x + 14.
- 32 PM, II, 173-174.
- 33 Nims, op. cit., fig.7, x + 20. For the identification of these shw-ntr at Karnak, see; Ibid., 72-73. The alabaster barque-shrine had a dedication inscription which is, unfortunately, badly damaged. The term used for the shrine is destroyed but has been restored, in Urk., IV, 852, 2, as hm, paralleling a text from Medinet Habu (Urk., IV, 881, 10). Sethe (Ibid., 852, note a) states that hm is a necessary restoration because of a following masculine pronoun, although sh-ntr is another possible restoration.
- 34 Urk., IV, 421, 10.
- 35 Ibid., IV, 1150, 12. This scene is labelled "Bringing Asian copper which his Majesty brought from Retenu  of Amun at Karnak" (Davies, N. de G., The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes, II, pl.LIIII). Faulkner (Con. Dict., 76) takes the group  to be the only example of a term wdh meaning "door of cast metal". This group is, in fact, to be read wdh '3wy "to cast the '3-doors" and the entry should, therefore, be deleted from Faulkner's dictionary.
- 36 Habachi, ASAE 53 (1956), fig.14 (after p.464).
- 37 See above, hwt-ntr, p.183-184.
- 38 Urk., IV, 734, 15; 743, 7.
- 39 Ibid., 829, 10.
- 40 Abd El-Razik, JEA 60 (1974), 155.
- 41 LDT., I, 15.
- 42 Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with names, pl.XXXIX, 2. See also Yoyotte, Kêmi 14 (1957), 84, note 2.
- 43 Wb., Belegstellen, III, 129 (ref.465, 6).
- 44 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, III, pl.173, 16-21.
- 45 Barguet, Temple, 118.
- 46 Wb., III, 465, 9.
- 47 Chicago University, op. cit., VII, pl.486, C, 2.
- 48 For the disposition of this room within the temple, see; Ibid., fig.16.

49 See above, hwt, 175, n.67.

50 Vercoutter, Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis, 17; pl.II.

51 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 445.


šwt-r' (ḥrḥty)

This unusual term is known only in texts from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. The most usual writing of the word is šwt-r', occasionally abbreviated to šwt, however, in Papyrus Wilbour, the term is frequently given as šwt-r'-ḥrḥty, showing that it is this aspect of the solar god which is involved. This is also indicated by the frequent use of the term in inscriptions from Akhetaten, since it was Re-Horakhty, and not any other aspect of the god Re, which was associated with the Aten.¹⁹ In addition the epithet ḥry-ib šwt-r' occurs above a representation of Re-Horakhty in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu,²⁰ so that there can be no doubt that, even when the term is abbreviated to šwt-r' or šwt, it is to be understood as a chapel dedicated to the god Re-Horakhty.

This expression was discussed by Fairman, particularly in relation to šwt-r' in the Amarna period²¹ and Stadelmann has, more recently, identified šwt-r' with a Re-chapel within a temple dedicated to another god.²² Stadelmann has shown that the main element of a šwt-r' was an open court containing an altar²³ and, as examples of this, he cites the Re-chapels in the mortuary temples of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari,²⁴ of Seti I at Gurna,²⁵ of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu²⁶ and the temple of Abu Simbel.²⁷

There would seem to be no doubt that this interpretation of the

of the design and function of a šwt-r' is correct although, in only one case, the Re-chapel at Medinet Habu in which the epithet hry-ib šwt-r' referred to above occurs, is the chapel in question named as a šwt-r'.

Stadelmann has also suggested that the Re-chapel, which is known to have existed on the roof of the Amun temple at Karnak, was a šwt-r'²⁸ and he would equate this with the  mentioned in the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon.²⁹ One can only assume that this chapel corresponded in plan to the Re-chapels in other New Kingdom temples, as no remains of the roof-chapel have been found.

By analogy with the šwt-r' which Stadelmann has identified it would seem logical to assume that the šwt-r' of the Amarna period were also chapels dedicated to Re-Horakhty within temples to the Aten, although, as the Aten was originally an aspect of Re-Horakhty, the relationship between the two divinities is somewhat unique.

In his discussion of the term Fairman identified one of the šwt-r' at Akhetaten, belonging to the princess Meretaten, with the central kiosk on the island of Maruaten to the south of the city.³⁰ The texts which mention this šwt-r' show that it was, originally, inscribed for a queen,³¹ but was later re-assigned to Meretaten. In view of the fact that blocks inscribed for the Aten m t3 šwt-r' n sst-nsw Mrt-ītn m p3 m3rw n ītn n p3 ītn m aht-ītn (the name and title of the princess not being original) were found within one of the smaller kiosks on either side of the approach to the central kiosk,³² it is more likely that the entire complex, known as Maruaten II, was the šwt-r', with the central kiosk, containing an altar, as the focal point. The excavation report implies that this kiosk was roofed,³³ although there appears to be no actual evidence for this and, as cult-places at Akhetaten were, axiomatically, open to the sun's rays, it is more likely that this kiosk was open to the sky so that the sunlight could reach down to the offerings heaped upon the altar. This Amarna šwt-r', therefore, contained the principal element of the other Re-chapels, an open area with an altar. Unfortunately the identification of the remaining šwt-r' at Akhetaten is not so certain.

The šwt-r' of queen Tiy is depicted in the tomb of Huya, at Amarna, and was clearly an edifice of some size and complexity.³⁴ It is noteworthy that no qualifying statement as to the location of the šwt-r' of Tiy is given. It is not, presumably, to be found at Maruaten like

the example discussed above, nor is it to be found within the pr h'y n p3 itn as is the case with two further šwt-r' from Amarna. It can only be assumed that this šwt-r' of queen Tiy was a building large enough to stand alone, the location of which was obvious without qualification. The temple, as depicted on the tomb-wall, consists of a pylon-gateway leading into a large court, surrounded on all four sides by colonnades with statues of a king and queen. In the centre of the court is an altar, reached by a flight of steps, while another pylon-gateway leads to the smaller halls and courts at the rear of the building.

This šwt-r' cannot be identified with any known building at Amarna, although the fact that the lowest register shows river-scenes has led to the suggestion that the šwt-r' of Tiy was situated somewhere along the river-bank like that at Maruaten.³⁵

The connection between the šwt-r' and the royal women at Akhetaten is not in question but the reason for this is unclear. Stadelmann has connected it with the role of the queen as God's Wife of Amun in relation to Re as the creator-god.³⁶ Whatever the reason, it is certain that šwt-r' existed at Akhetaten for the king's mother Tiy, presumably for the great queen Nefertiti³⁷ and possibly also for another queen, Kia.³⁸ There were also two šwt-r' assigned to the two eldest princesses Meretaten and Ankhesenpaaten, both of which were m pr h'y n p3 itn m pr itn m 3ht itn.

This is the name of the large monumental building to the west of the Royal Road which was described by the excavators as the "Great Palace".³⁹ However, such an edifice was clearly not intended as the domestic quarters of the royal family and Uphill has suggested that it was, in fact, not a "palace" but a "temple".⁴⁰ This interpretation does seem to be more plausible although, as Assman has pointed out,⁴¹ the distinction between civil and religious buildings at Amarna is not very clear.

The name of the building would also support an interpretation as a religious structure, particularly one connected with the Sed-festival⁴² and it would, therefore, not be surprising that two šwt-r' were situated within the pr-h'y.

Uphill⁴³ equated the šwt-r' of queen Tiy with a part of the pr-h'y, at the rear of the building, opening off the hypostyle hall.⁴⁴

This was balanced, on the other side, by a similar structure which could not be planned as it was under the then line of cultivation. It is noteworthy that this temple has no sanctuary on the axis, the hypostyle hall being the central room at the rear of the building. It seems likely, therefore, that the two identical structures on either side of the hall are the focal points of the temple and it is tempting to identify these two structures with the two šwt-r' which are known to have existed within the pr-ḥ'y. It is, however, unlikely that either is the šwt-r' of queen Tiye, since this is not described as being within the pr-ḥ'y and would seem to have been an altogether more complex building than these two areas of the pr-ḥ'y.

Each of the structures consisted of a peristyle court in the centre of which was a concrete platform, on which, as Uphill has suggested,⁴⁵ probably stood an altar. Four side rooms opened off this court beyond which was a large open court, containing two kiosks, one of which was never completed. The plan of this part of the pr-ḥ'y has all the major elements of the standard Re-chapel and can, therefore, be identified as a šwt-r'. In addition, blocks from the doorways leading from the hypostyle hall into the šwt-r' show Akhenaten as a lion-sphinx,⁴⁶ a representation of Re-Horakhty which occurs on unprovenanced blocks, possibly from this building, which do mention a šwt-r'.⁴⁷

The ownership of these two šwt-r' is open to question. One almost certainly belonged to the eldest princess Meretaten. It is mentioned on a statue base, now in the British Museum, t3 šwt-r' n s3t-nsw.... Mrt-ḥtn....m pr-ḥ'y n p3 ḥtn m pr ḥtn m 3ḥt-ḥtn.⁴⁸ The name of the princess is original and the statue gives the early forms of the names of the Aten so it would seem fair to assume that this šwt-r' was always intended for Meretaten, rather than having been re-assigned to her on the death, or downfall, of any queen.

The second šwt-r' was, at one time, assigned to Ankhesenpaaten although Hanke has suggested that it belonged, originally, to queen Kia.⁴⁹ However, of those inscriptions which mention the šwt-r' of Ankhesenpaaten/Kia quoted by Hanke, only two do not require the restoration of the term šwt-r'.⁵⁰ These texts are both on blocks from Hermopolis and both have been wrongly restored, in the past, to give the name of the princess Ankhesenpaaten-ta-sherit.⁵¹ From Roeder's photographs neither of these blocks seem to have been re-worked, al-

though Hanke implies that they were. There is also a third block which gives the name of the šwt-r' and the name and titles of the princess in full, leaving no doubt as to the correct restoration of the other two, incomplete texts. This third block has a scene of Akhenaten beneath the rays of the Aten, who is described as being m t3 šwt-r' n s3t-nsw n ht.f mrt.f 'nh.s-n-p3-ītn m pr-h'y n p3 ītn m pr ītn m šht-ītn.⁵² This block, although not well preserved, seems not to have been re-worked but, unlike the statue base of Meretaten, bears the later forms of the names of the Aten.

It is possible, therefore, that these two šwt-r' were intended from the start to belong to the two princesses, although one may have been originally assigned to a queen.

The importance of a šwt-r' as a cult-place is indicated by texts from Amarna and particularly by the Ramesside Papyrus Wilbour.

In one version of a hymn to the Aten šwt-r' is used instead of the more usual hwt-ntr,⁵³ indicating that, to some extent, the two words were regarded as synonyms. It is also evident that a šwt-r' had its own priesthood as both a w'b-priest⁵⁴ and hmw-ntr⁵⁵ are attested for various šwt-r'.













Papyrus Wilbour, while not helping to identify any šwt-r' with particular buildings, shows that a šwt-r' could own and cultivate land,⁵⁶ for which an administrative and labouring staff would have been essential. The šwt-r' of this papyrus are situated either within a pr of another god⁵⁷ or are described as being in a particular town.⁵⁸ One is located within a fortress (? sgr)⁵⁹ which can be compared with another šwt-r' situated within a sfhy.⁶⁰

A šwt-r', therefore, was a cult-centre of the god Re-Horakhty, which could be situated within a temple dedicated to another god or be a separate temple. The main element of a šwt-r' was the large open court with an altar, upon which offerings could be placed⁶¹ and to which the sun's rays had direct access. A šwt-r' had its own priesthood and staff, although it was, no doubt, under the administrative control of the cult-centre of the chief god of the area.

Although the earliest known reference to a šwt-r' is of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is possible that they existed prior to this date. All the surviving examples are of the period from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty, with the exception of one writing from the

temple of Esna in the Roman period,⁶² indicating that the term had been in constant use from the New Kingdom onward.

Šwt-r' occurs in neither the demotic or Coptic scripts.

- 1 Urk., IV, 498, 1.
- 2 Ibid., 1673, 11.
- 3 Petrie, Tell El-Amarna, pl.XXIV, 76; Janssen, Two Ancient Egyptian Ships Logs, 15, 26 and 27 (omitting ()); Spiegelberg, Correspondances du temps des rois-prêtres, 57, 10 (transcribed as  here, but read as  by Fairman in Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten, III, 203, e).
- 4 Davies, El-Amarna, V, pl.XXX, 15.
- 5 Roeder, Amarna-Reliefs aus Harmopolis, pl.19 (207-VIII, A); Tawfik, MDAIK 32 (1976), 222, fig.1; Aldred, Akhenaten and Nefertiti, 99, No.13.
- 6 Roeder, op. cit., pl.55 (450-VII, A).
- 7 British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts, VIII, pl.XXIV.
- 8 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, 201, e (  ) is probably an abbreviated form of the name of the Aten (Fairman, op. cit., III, 169; Peet and Woolley, The City of Akhenaten, I, 167) showing the identification of Re-Horakhty and the Aten.)
- 9 Peet and Woolley, op. cit., I, pl.LVI (22/273, reverse).
- 10 Ibid., I, pl.LVI (22/273, obverse).
- 11 Davies, op. cit., III, pl.VIII (there is also an example, copied as    presumably in error; Ibid. cit.).
- 12 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, pl.LXXXVIII, 109 (for ('nh r') see note 8 above).
- 13 Ibid., pl.LXXXVIII, 110.
- 14 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 70, 12-13 (Erichsen transcribes the initial sign as  but Fairman, op. cit., 202, 2, d reads it as ); Gardiner, The Wilbour Papyrus, I, pls.63, 22; 70, 20; 70, 22; 72, 23, 24; 60, 4 (the last has an additional  after the ).
- 15 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Medinet Habu, VI, pl.427, A.
- 16 Gardiner, op. cit., I, pl.7 (A, 16, 38); This is the standard full spelling of the term in this papyrus, although the signs are often more cursive. See also, Ibid., pls.3 (A, 9, 1); 8 (A, 18, 37); 18 (A, 40, 21); 29 (A, 62, 33); 30, (A, 64, 29); 48 (A, 98, 17); 49

- (A, 100, 9).
- 17 Ibid., I, pls.37 (A, 78, 34); 42 (A, 86, 46); 44 (A, 91, 30).
 - 18 Sauneron, Esna, III, 10, 197, 14.
 - 19 Redford, JARCE 13 (1976), 47-61; Tawfik, op. cit., 217-226.
 - 20 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit..
 - 21 Fairman, op. cit., 200-208.
 - 22 Stadelmann, MDAIK 25 (1969), 159-178.
 - 23 Ibid., 165ff.
 - 24 Naville, Deir El-Bahari, I, 1-11; pl.I-VI; PM, II, 362-363; pl. XXXVI,4 (for the dedication inscriptions on the altar see; Urk., IV, 295, 13-16).
 - 25 PM, II, 420; pl.XL, 1 (court XLII).
 - 26 Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, III, 15, fig.8; PM, II, 509-510; pl. XLVIII, (rooms 17-19).
 - 27 PM, VII, 99; plan on p.96.(the North chapel).
 - 28 Stadelmann, op. cit., 175-176.
 - 29 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl. 22, 11.
 - 30 Fairman, op. cit., III, 206.
 - 31 Hanke has suggested that this was a šwt-r' of Kia as the names and titles of Nefertiti would not fit into the space now occupied by the name and title of Meretaten (Hanke, Amarna Reliefs aus Hermopolis, 166-168).
 - 32 Peet and Woolley, op. cit., I, 121-122; pls.XXXIV, 1 and 2; LVI, 22/273.
 - 33 Ibid., 122.
 - 34 Davies, El-Amarna, III, pls.VIII-XI. Fairman (op. cit., 205) suggested that šwt-r' may have referred only to the small kiosk with an altar at the rear of the temple (Davies, op. cit., pl.VIII; XI) as the names and titles of the Aten, described as nb t3 šwt-r'n mwt-nsw hmt-nsw wrt Tii, occur over this rear part of the temple. However, the title of the entire scene is quite explicit; "Conducting the Great Queen, the king's mother, Tiy, to let (her) see her šwt-r'", it would seem to be more logical to assume that šwt-r' was the name of the entire complex. See also; Stadelmann, op. cit., 163-164.
 - 35 Fairman, op. cit., 204; Stadelmann, op. cit., 164.

- 36 Ibid., 165.
- 37 There seem to be no texts extant which mention a šwt-r' of Nefer-titi by name, but the boundary stelae state that a šwt-r' of a queen (name lost) was to be built (Davies, op. cit., V, pls.XXX, 15; XXXII, 17) while a hieratic docket mentions t3 šwt (c'nh r')... n t3 hmt-nswhr rsy "The šwt-r' of Ankh-Re (see note 8 above).. .. of the queen...in the south" (Fairman, op. cit., 201, e. See also; Ibid., pl.LXXXVIII, 108; 109.
- 38 See note 31 above and note 49 below.
- 39 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, 33ff; pls.XIIIA-XVI. For the identification of this building with the pr-h'y see Fairman, op. cit., III, 193-194. The excavators included in the pr-h'y the buildings between the main structure and the Royal Road. However, in view of the true nature of this building, it is more likely that the name refers only to the temple itself. As Fairman pointed out there is no direct evidence that the "harem" was regarded as a part of the pr-h'y (Ibid., 193-194).
- 40 Uphill, JNES 29 (1970), 151-166.
- 41 Assman, JNES 31 (1972), 155.
- 42 Ibid., 150ff.
- 43 Uphill, op. cit., 156-160.
- 44 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, 58-59; pls.XIIIB; XIV; XLI; XLII.
- 45 Uphill, op. cit., 158.
- 46 Pendlebury, op. cit., III, pl.XLI, 2 and 3.
- 47 Tawfik, op. cit., 221-222, fig.1; Aldred, loc. cit..
- 48 British Museum, op. cit., VIIII 27-28; pl.XXIV.
- 49 Hanke, op. cit., 168; Abb.44-45; 48-50. It should be noted that although some of Hanke's examples in which he has restored the name šwt-r' are entirely plausible, it is also possible that another term, such as pr, would be the correct restoration. See particularly blocks 443-VIII A (Ibid., Abb.48; Roeder, op. cit., pl.47); 328-VIII A (Hanke, op. cit., Abb.49; Roeder, op. cit., pl.19); 324-VIII C (Hanke, loc. cit.; Roeder, op. cit., pl.53).
- 50 These are Hermopolis blocks 207-VIII A (Hanke, op. cit., Abb.48; Roeder, op. cit., pl.19) and 338-VI A (Ibid., pl.148; Hanke, op. cit., Abb.49).
- 51 Both have been wrongly restored in the past to read szt-nsw n ht.f

mrt.f 'nh.s-n-p3 i'tn-t3-šrt ms n s3t-nsw 'nh.s-n-p3-i'tn (Roeder, op. cit., pls.19; 148; Brunner, ZÄS 74 (1938), 106 (block 338-VI A only). Both texts are correctly restored by Hanke (op. cit., Abb.48; 49) but incompletely, omitting m pr i'tn m 3ht-i'tn.

52 Roeder, op. cit., pl.55 (450-VII A).

53 Davies, op. cit., I, pl.XXVII.

54 Janssen, op. cit., 15.

55 Loc. cit.; Gardiner, op. cit., I, pls.70, 20; 72, 23.

56 E.g. Ibid., pls.7 (A 16, 38); 8 (A, 18, 37); 70 (B, 23, 22); 72 (B, 20, 23-24); et al..

57 In a pr of Amun; Ibid., I, pl.29 (A, 62, 33); of Seth; Ibid., I, pl.7 (A, 16, 38); 30 (A, 64, 29).

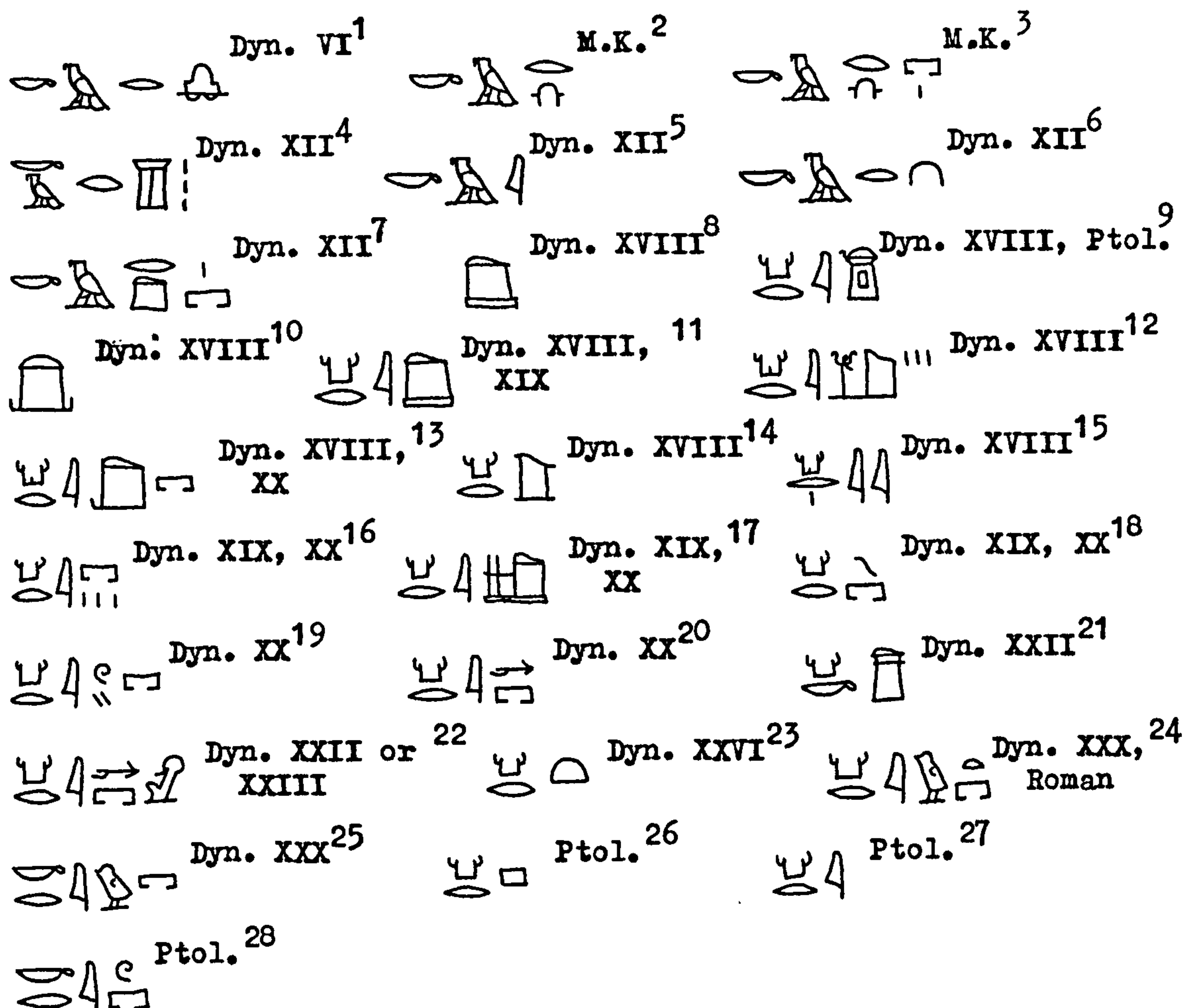
58 Ninsu; Ibid., I, pls.3 (A, 9, 1); 70 (B, 23, 20-22); Harsperu; pl. 60 (B, 13, 4); Menankh; pls.42 (A, 86, 46); 44 (A, 91, 30); 48 (A, 98, 17); Shatina; pl.8 (A, 18, 37); Sako; pl.37 (A, 78, 34); 49 (A, 100, 9).

59 Ibid., pl.18 (A, 40, 21).

60 Janssen, loc. cit..

61 The emphasis on offerings with regard to the šwt-r' is shown in the following texts which otherwise give no indications as to the function or plan of a šwt-r'; Urk., IV, 498, 1; Fairman, op. cit., III, 202; Sauneron, loc. cit..

62 Loc. cit..

k3rī

The earliest known writing of k3rī, the only example which antedates the Middle Kingdom, occurs in the Pyramid Texts, and refers to a k3r(i) in heaven.²⁹ This writing is determined with the unusual sign which represents a palanquin and more usually determines the noun, rpyt, "a female statue" or "a goddess".³⁰ This palanquin also figures in scenes of the Sed-festival where it bears the msw-nsw to watch the rituals.³¹ The evidence from texts of later periods would make it unlikely that a k3rī was originally a palanquin, and the use of this determinative can best be understood as an attempt to represent a shrine on carrying poles. In the Nineteenth-Dynasty temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, a shrine, described as a k3rī, is shown being carried on poles, by four men,³²

This kind of portable shrine was one of the meanings of the term, and it could also be used for the "cabin" of a barque-shrine which was also carried in procession.³³ However, the principal meaning of k3rī was "naos", the evidence for this being quite conclusive.

There are several Late-Period examples of naoi which are actually labelled "k3rī". One is the granite naos provided for the temple of Horus at Edfu, by Nectanebo II, which is described as "a noble k3rī in granite".³⁴ Another granite naos, of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, is also called a k3r(ī),³⁵ as is a naos, made from the rare bhn-stone, found at Koptos and dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty.³⁶ In addition a Ptolemaic relief from the temple at Tôd shows a naos, elevated upon a stepped podium, which is labelled as a k3r(ī).³⁷

Although all these examples of naoi which can be proved to have been regarded as k3rw date to the latest periods of Egyptian history, earlier texts also support the view that a k3rī was a naos. Unlike sh-ntr and hm, k3rī does not seem to have been used for an open-ended, stone barque-shrine.

Examples of k3rī are rare before the New Kingdom, although this may not be significant since most building texts which are extant date to the period after the Second Intermediate Period. The earliest writing from the Pyramid Texts has already been noted. From the Middle Kingdom there are several occurrences, only one of which, from the stela of Ikhernofret, gives any indication as to the nature of a k3rī. "I fashioned the gods who are in his (Osiris') following, and made their k3r(ī)w (determined with 𓂏) anew."³⁸ This refers to the shrines of other gods within the Abydene temple of Osiris.

K3rī is also used of the chapel, containing a statue of the deceased, in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan³⁹, and occurs in the descriptions of temple-building in Papyrus Reisner I.⁴⁰

From the New Kingdom onwards there are many references to the k3rīw of the gods in general which support a translation of "naoi".⁴¹ A typical example is; "His father Re created him to fashion those who are in their k3rī(w), to provision their altars."⁴² Other texts give more specific information about particular shrines:

".....k3rīw in stone, with 3w-doors in true cedar to follow the statues of my majesty".⁴³ (Inscription of Tuthmosis III at Karnak).

"I made for you (Amun) a secret k3rī from one fine block of granite, 3w-doors upon it in copper, worked and engraved with your divine name, your image resting within it like Re in his horizon."⁴⁴ (Work of Ramesses III at Thebes).



Usually, as in these two examples, a k3rī was made of stone, but wooden examples are also known to have existed;

"Then the scribe of the army, Oner, sent to him again, saying, 'Send me a k3rī of cedar' and the scribe, Sedi, gave him a k3rī which measured two cubits in height." ⁴⁵ (Tomb-Robbery Papyri).

"I found this pr of Amun fallen into ruin, I erected it as it had ⁴⁶ been.....I caused his k3 to rest as it wished, I made for him a k2(rī) in cedar." ⁴⁷ (Twenty-Second Dynasty graffito on the exterior wall of the temple of Luxor).

K3rī, therefore, unlike other "shrine" terms, seems to have had a specific meaning, a naos, and to have retained that meaning from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. Surprisingly, perhaps, the term does not appear in Erichsen's Demotisches Glossar, nor is it found in Coptic texts.

- 1 Pyr., 1773c.
- 2 De Buck, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I, 248a.
- 3 Loc. cit..
- 4 Sethe, Aegyptische Lesestücke, 71, 6.
- 5 Simpson, Papyrus Reisner I, pl.14A, 32 and 38. For another, damaged, occurrence of k3rī in this papyrus, see; Ibid., pl.13A, 6.
- 6 Urk., VII, 34, 19.
- 7 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II, 155, 4.
- 8 Urk., IV, 1350, 12.
- 9 Budge, The Book of the Dead, (1898), Text, 44; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 18 (twice).
- 10 Urk., IV, 130, 16.
- 11 The exact form of the determinative varies. Ibid., IV, 168, 15; 553, 13; Naville, Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch, I, pl.CXLIIII; CXCI; KRI., I, 58, 13; 126, 3; Mariette, Abydos, II, pl.19, c and d.
- 12 Urk., IV, 1320, 2.
- 13 Ibid., IV, 1674, 1; KRI., V, 226, 13.
- 14 Urk., IV, 445, 3.
- 15 Ibid., IV, 1341, 16.
- 16 KRI., I, 186, 16; 187, 1; 188, 4; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5, 8; 6, 5; 6, 8; 7, 4; 30, 14; 52, 12.
- 17 The exact form of the determinative varies. KRI., I, 42, 5; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, Med. Habu, III, pl.138, 45 (wrongly quoted by Wb., V, 108, 3, as; pl.138, 55); Naville, op.

- cit., I, pl.CLXXXVIII.
- 18 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 47, 9; Erichsen, op. cit., 50, 17; 67, 4.
 - 19 Ibid., 29, 17.
 - 20 Peet, The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty, II, pl.XXI, (B.M.10053), verso, 4, 21 and 23.
 - 21 Daressy, Rec. de Trav. 14 (1893), 34, LV, e, 4-5.
 - 22 Spiegelberg, Rec. de Trav. 19 (1897), 95-96, B, 1 (the same term also occurs in line 3, without the divine determinative).
 - 23 Piankoff, Rev. d'Eg. 1 (1933), 164.
 - 24 Legrain, ASAE 6 (1905), 122 (Roeder, Naos, 56, gives  instead of . The photograph (Ibid., pl.15) is too indistinct to make out the correct form of the sign); Sauneron, Esna, III, 32, 206, 10.
 - 25 Naville, Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el-Henneh, pl.I, Sb, 3.
 - 26 Champollion, Notices Descriptives, I, 292,
 - 27 Chassinat, op. cit., II, 23, 112.
 - 28 Ibid., I, 542, VI, 37 and 38.
 - 29 Pyr., 1773c.
 - 30 Wb., II, 415, 1-14; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 148.
 - 31 E.g., Kaiser, Beiträge Bf., 12, Festschrift Ricke, Falttafel 4, top register; 5, lower two registers; Quibell, Hierakonpolis, I, pl. XXVI, B.
 - 32 Mariette, op. cit., II, pl.19, c.
 - 33 E.g., Spiegelberg, loc. cit.; Sauneron, loc. cit..
 - 34 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 18 (twice). For the form of the naos see; Ibid., 9, fig.2.
 - 35 Piankoff, loc. cit.. For the form of the naos see; Ibid., pl.VIII.
 - 36 Legrain, loc. cit.. For a photograph of this naos see; Roeder, op. cit., pl.15.
 - 37 Champollion, loc. cit..
 - 38 Sethe, loc. cit..
 - 39 Urk., VII, 34, 19. For a plan of the tomb see; Newberry, Beni Hasan, I, pl.XXII.
 - 40 Simpson, op. cit., pl.13A, 6; 14A, 32 and 38.
 - 41 E.g., Urk., IV, 130, 16; 1320, 2; KRI., I, 42, 5; 126, 3; 187, 1; 186, 16; V, 116, 10; 226, 13; Gardiner, loc. cit.; Erichsen, op. cit., 7, 4; 50, 17.

42 Urk., IV, 553, 13.

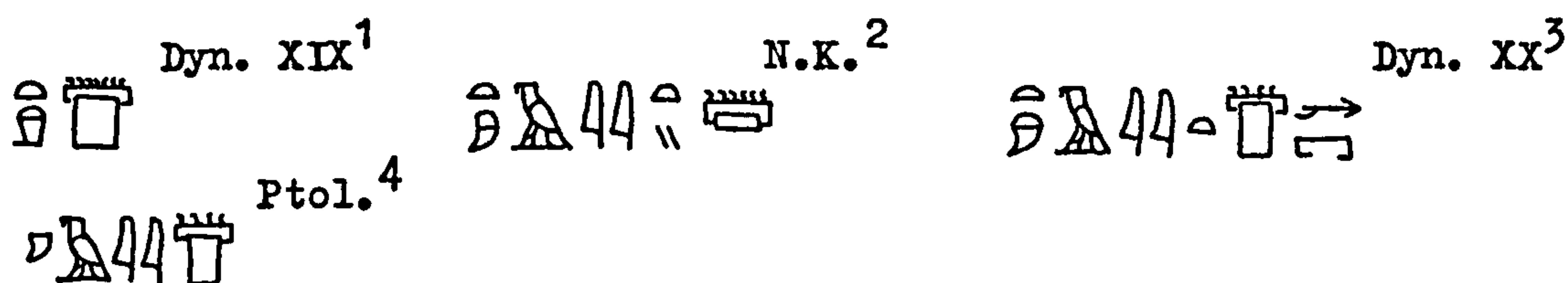
43 Ibid., IV, 168, 15. Barguet, Temple, 124, identifies these k3riw with the side-chapels of Tuthmosis III in the Northern court, behind the Sixth Pylon (PM., II, 92-93;pl.XI.).

44 Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 8 (similarly, for Re, Ibid., 30, 14; and for Ptah, Ibid., IV, 52, 12).

45 Peet, loc. cit..


46 See writing No.21 above.

47 Daressy, loc. cit..

t3y(t)

The Wörterbuch distinguished two terms; t3, translated as "door, gate, in temple" ⁵ and t3yt "door in temple". ⁶ It would seem, however to be unlikely that more than one term is involved since the writings and apparent meanings are so similar.


This term is used in temple descriptions only rarely and not prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty, although its earlier meaning can be surmised since other words with the stem t3 are connected with weaving and woven garments. ⁷ A temple-t3yt was probably, originally, some kind of curtain or screen of woven reeds. The Nineteenth-Dynasty t3w(t) ⁸ from the temple of Seti I at Abydos, are described as being made of gold so these must, clearly, have been more solid objects. Likewise the example of the term from Papyrus Harris I refers to the t3yt of a st wrt as being "of gold like the two '3wy of heaven." ⁹ This text would seem to suggest that a t3yt, determined here with the → sign, was a gilded, wooden double-door. ¹⁰

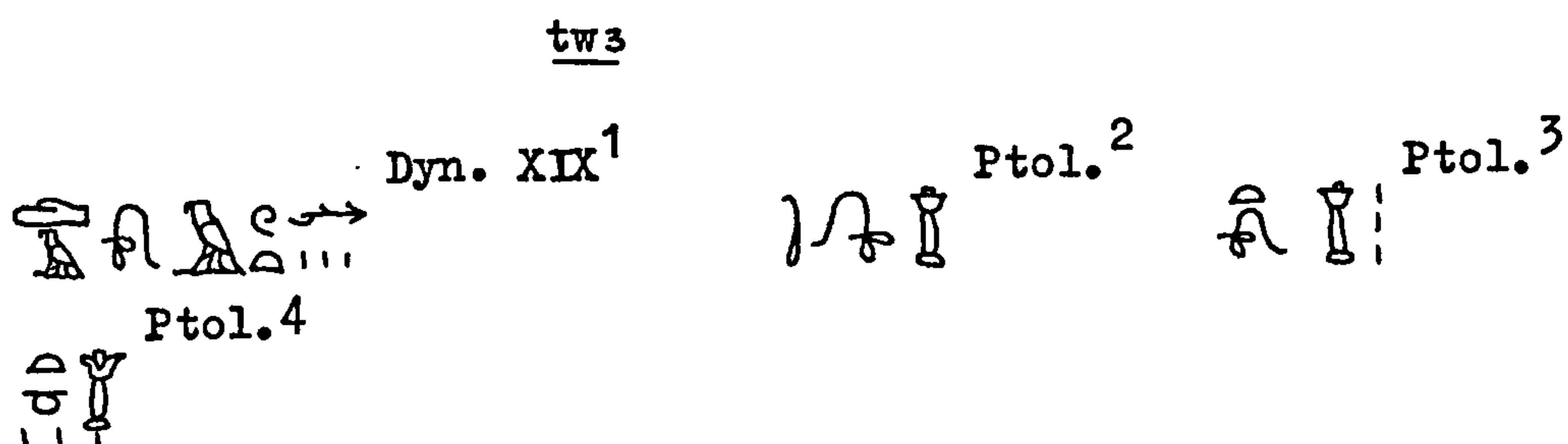
The hieroglyphic sign  ¹¹, was used from the Old Kingdom onwards in the title of the Vizier, ¹² and as a determinative of words with the stem t3, but the exact interpretation of the sign is open to question. Gardiner regards it as a "gateway (?) surmounted by protecting serpents," ¹³ while Habachi sees it as an attempt to depict both the plan and the facade of a hall. ¹⁴ The taller version of the sign which figures in three of the four known writings, is also found as a determinative of sbht, a screening-porch in front of an entrance, ¹⁵ and it is interesting to note that these two terms are used in parallel in descriptive epithets of a Vizier; "A sbht of Amun, a t3yt in the time of the Lord-of-All." ¹⁶ It is tempting to suggest that a t3yt served a similar function to a sbht and was also some kind of screening-device.

Screen-walls, surmounted by friezes of uraei, are found in Egyptian architecture, particularly in connection with the Window-of-

Appearances,¹⁷ and in Graeco-Roman temples,¹⁸ although it cannot be proved that t3yt was ever actually applied to such walls.


The t3yt in Papyrus Harris I could have been a gilded, wooden, double-doored screen which stood before a shrine (st wrt), perhaps even enclosing it like the gilded "shrines" from the tomb of Tutankhamun.

- 1 KRI, I, 133, 3; 134, 7.
- 2 Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, I, pl.XCII, 1, verso, 10 (Ost. Gardiner, 303).
- 3 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 50, 16.
- 4 Chassinat, Édfou, I, 18.
- 5 Wb., V, 230, 15. One of the references quoted is; Mariette, Abydos, I, pl.19, a. The writing is given in Wb., Belegstellen, V, 43, as , which does not, in fact, occur on the plate quoted and seems to be the result of confusion between writings of t3 and ḥ špss.
- 6 Wb., V, 231, 10.
- 7 Ibid., V, 231-233.
- 8 KRI, I, 133, 3; 134, 7.
- 9 Erichsen, loc. cit..
- 10 See, Christophe, Mélanges Maspero, I, fasc.4, 23.
- 11 Gardiner, Grammar, Sign List, 0.16.
- 12 Loc. cit.; Faulkner, Con. Dict., 293.
- 13 Gardiner, loc. cit..
- 14 Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 503.
- 15 See sbḥt, above, p.227ff.
- 16 Černý and Gardiner, loc. cit..
- 17 E.g., at Amarna, Davies, El-Amarna, I, pl.XXV; III, pl.XIII; and at Medinet Habu, Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, III, pl.4.
- 18 E.g., Jéquier, L'Architecture, III, pls.25 (Edfu); 37 (Kom Ombo); 56 (Denderah); 72 (Esna).



The Wörterbuch dates this term to the Graeco-Roman period only.⁵ However, Ösing has suggested that the first writing quoted above, which comes from the Nineteenth Dynasty Anastasi Papyrus III, is an early example of tw₃.⁶

The passage in question is badly damaged but concerns work carried out in the royal workshops, among which are;


Caminos interpreted this as "dwt of willow-wood of the three great doors".⁸ Ösing, however, has demonstrated that the second word is not trt "willow-wood" but tri² "door" and he prefers to take tw₃-tri² as a compound noun meaning "Tür-Pfosten".⁹ Such a compound would seem to have been an illogical choice for "door-jambs" since either bnšw or htri(w) would have been preferable and both terms were in use in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Ösing suggested that the compound tw₃-tri² could be compared to the use of a compound htri-sb₃, meaning "door-jamb" which occurs in Papyrus Harris I. This compound does not, in fact, exist, the examples in this papyrus being all writings of "the door-frames (htriw) and the door-leaves (sb₃w)",¹⁰ where both elements were made of the same material. The order of the two terms could also be reversed,¹¹ and the separate identities of htr and sb₃ are confirmed from other passages where the two are made of different materials.¹² It is, therefore, most unlikely that tw₃-tri² is a compound noun and it is probably to be interpreted in the same way, as "the tw₃"columns"and the tri²-doors."

Since tri² could be used of any of the elements which went to make up a door¹³ it is possible that these tri²w are "door-leaves". The tw₃w could, therefore, be the "door-jambs" although either bnšw or htriw would have been preferable.



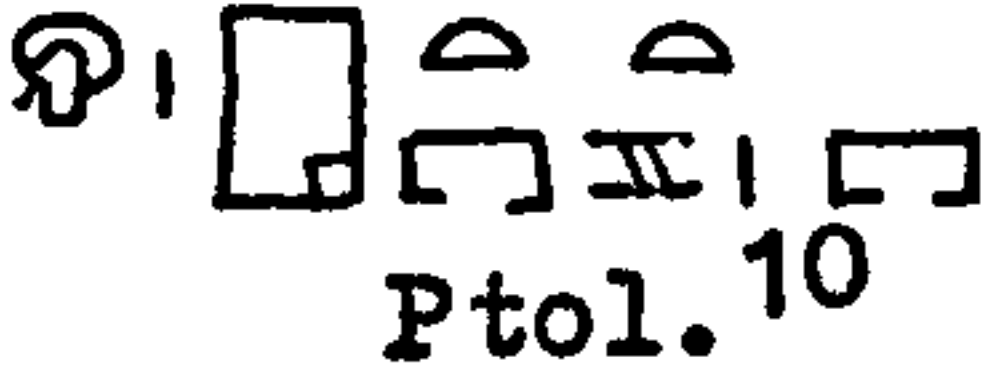

In the Graeco-Roman temples tw₃ is used as a general noun for a column,¹⁴ a logical development from the etymological origin of the term in tw₃ "to raise up, to support".¹⁵





Ösing¹⁶ also proposed that tw3 be regarded as the ancestor of the Coptic roya "door-post" or "lintel" ¹⁷ refuting the suggestion of Fecht that roya originated in an, as yet unfound, compound *tpy-ʿ3.¹⁸





The recognition of tw3 in Anastasi III pushes back the known history of the term to the Nineteenth Dynasty although it would seem to have changed slightly in meaning between then and the Graeco-Roman period.

- 1 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 30, 12 (P. An. III, verso, 1, 8).
- 2 Dümichen, Baugeschichte des Denderatempels, pl. XXXVIII, 5 (Mariette, Denderah, I, pl. 7, b gives γ^{\wedge} for the second sign).
- 3 De Wit, Ch. d'Eg. 36 No. 71 (Jan. 1961), 69.
- 4 Dümichen, op. cit., pl. XV, 4.
- 5 Wb., V, 250, 19.
- 6 Ösing, Nominalbildung, 635.
- 7 Gardiner, loc. cit..
- 8 Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 107.
- 9 Ösing, loc. cit., see also tri², note 22 below, p. 283.
- 10 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 5, 10; 9, 16; 94, 8.
- 11 Ibid., 6, 7; 10, 11.
- 12 Ibid., 68, 13-14; 70, 2.
- 13 See below, tri², p. 281ff.
- 14 Dümichen, op. cit., pls. XV, 4; XXXVIII, 5; De Wit, loc. cit..
- 15 Wb., V, 248-250.
- 16 Ösing, op. cit., 148; 634-637.
- 17 Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 443b.
- 18 Fecht, Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, 103-104, 194. Both suggestions for the etymology of roya are noted by Westendorf, Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 251, but roya is omitted from Černý's Coptic Etymological Dictionary.

tp-hwt

 Dyn. V, 2nd. Int.,¹ Dyn. XXII
 Dyn. XVIII, XIX,⁴ XXII, XXV, Ptol.
 Dyn. XX⁷ Ptol.¹⁰


 Dyn. V²
 Dyn. XVIII⁵
 XXVI


 Dyn. XVII, Ptol.³
 N.K.⁶
 Dyn. XXII,⁸ Ptol.⁹


The Wörterbuch translates tp-hwt as "der Dach"¹¹ and this meaning is in no doubt. Originally, presumably, the term would have described only the roof of a temple (hwt) and this is its most usual meaning in Egyptian texts, although it could also be used for the roof of other types of buildings. In the Admonitions, tp-hwt refers to the roof of a private house,¹² and in the new Kamose stela tp-hwt describes the roof of the palace (?) at Avaris.¹³ The tp-hwt of another palace ('h') is attested on a New-Kingdom stela¹⁴ as is the tp-hwt of a storehouse on a Ramesside papyrus.¹⁵

Most often, however, tp-hwt describes the roof of a temple, and it is as such that it first occurs in the Abusir Papyri and on the Palermo Stone, both of the Fifth Dynasty.

In the Abusir Papyri tp-hwt is used for the roof of the mortuary temple of Neferirkare.¹⁶ As such it was one of the places included in the duty-rota for the priests of the temple "those who are on watch (on) the tp-hwt."¹⁷ On the Palermo Stone are the first indications of the existence of chapels dedicated to the god Re on the roofs of temples of other gods.¹⁸ This would seem to have been quite a common practice and is particularly well-attested for the temple of Amun at Karnak.¹⁹ This chapel seems to have been called a šwt-r,²⁰ and it is possible that the other roof-chapels dedicated to Re were given the same name.

Tp-hwt has also been found in texts which describe other temples.²¹ In the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut the hwt-ntr of the Lady of Cusae is described as being in ruin, "the earth had swallowed up its noble hm, and children danced on its tp-hwt."²² Similarly, in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, Taharqa found the temple of Amun at Kawa in disrepair, the sand-drifts having accumulated up to the level of the

tp-hwt.²³

The term may occur in the demotic script²⁴ but does not seem to recur in Coptic.

Tp-hwt was used for the roof of a building, particularly a temple, from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, and does not seem to have had any other meaning.

- 1 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, The Abu Sir Papyri, pls.IIIA, e; VA, a, 1; XIA, i; Gardiner, Admonitions, 13, 3; Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, III, 32, 2.
- 2 Urk., IV, 244, 3; 248, 1; Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pls.XIIA, e; XIVA, B; LXXVIIA, B.
- 3 Habachi, The Second Stela of Kamose, pl.VI, abb.12, 8; Mariette, Denderah, IV, pl.2.
- 4 Benedite, Tombeau de Neferhotpou, pl.III, upper register; Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 2, 2; Černý and Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraka, I, pl.XLV, 4, 5; Chicago University, Oriental Institute, The Bubastite Portal, pl.22, 11; Chassinat, Edfou, I, 513; Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, 33, 5; Macadam, The Temples of Kawa, I, pl. 12, 16.
- 5 Urk., IV, 386, 6; 1760, 7.
- 6 Schiaparelli, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Antichita Egizie, I, 491; Macadam, op. cit., I, pl.8, 11.
- 7 Gardiner, Onom., pl.XII (Amenemope, 6, 3).
- 8 Legrain, op. cit., III, 80, f, 3; Mariette, Monumemts Divers, pl. 47, B.
- 9 Id., Denderah, IV, pls.7; 9; 10; Brugsch, Thesaurus, 539.
- 10 Chassinat, op. cit., I, 549.
- 11 Wb., III, 2,1; V, 290, 9-18.
- 12 Gardiner, Admonitions, 13, 3.
- 13 Habachi, loc. cit..
- 14 Schiaparelli, loc. cit..
- 15 Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 37, 1. The Wörterbuch (V, 290, 11) quotes Sinuhe B.19 as an example of tp-hwt to describe the roof of a fortress. However other variants of the text have tp inbw which is probably to be preferred (Blackman, Middle Egyptian Stories, 12; Barns, The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe, recto, 16).
- 16 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.VA, a, 1; XIA, i;

XIIA, e; XIVA, B; LXXVIIA, B. See also; Posener-Kriéger, Archives Néferirkarê, 510-511.

17 Posener-Kriéger and De Cenival, op. cit., pl.IIIA, e.

18 Urk., I, 244, 3; 248, 1.

19 Spiegelberg, Rec. de Trav. 35, (1913), 38; El-Sayed, BIFAO 78 (1978), 462-463; Legrain, loc. cit.; Faulkner, loc. cit.; Černy and Gardiner, loc. cit.; Mariette, Monuments Divers, pl.47, B.

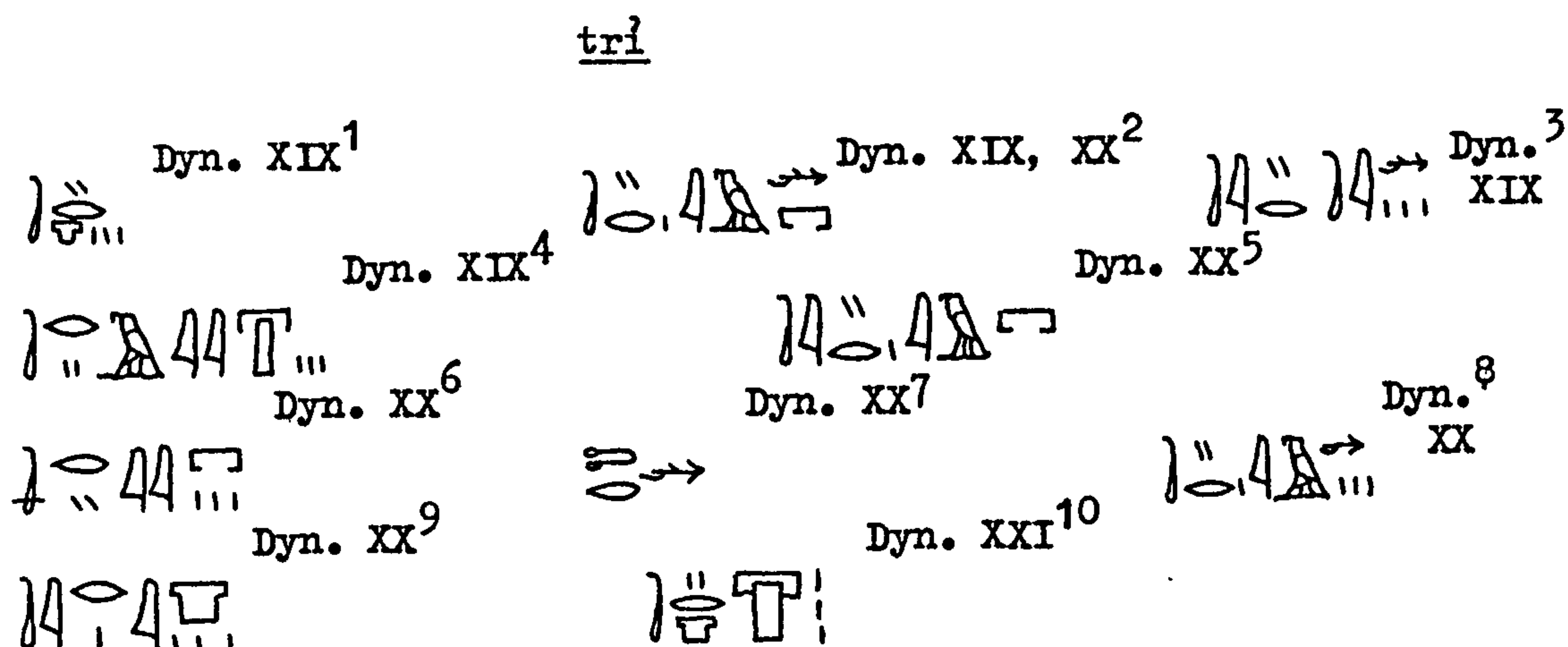
20 Chicago University, Oriental Institute, loc. cit.. See further, šwt-r^c, above p.261.

21 Benedite, loc. cit.; Mariette, Denderah, IV, pls.2; 7; 9; 10; Chassinat, op. cit., I, 549.

22 Urk., IV, 386, 6.

23 Macadam, op. cit., pls.8; 11; 12, 16.

24 Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, 627 (tp-h).



Trī seems to have been first used in the reign of Ramesses II, to describe doors at Thebes. In one case the word is found in the plural but, as it is followed by the dual adjective wrtȝ, it is presumably to be understood as a dual.¹¹ Plantikow-Munster, following Yoyotte,¹² identified these two trī as the doorways leading from the outer hall to the inner hall of the Eastern Temple of Ramesses II at the back of the temple of Amun at Karnak.¹³ This text certainly refers to the Eastern Temple but the suggested identification for the trīw remains open to doubt. They are described as being "great, of electrum, their beauty joining with the sky,"¹⁴ and it is, perhaps, more likely that such a description would refer to the great gilded doors at the main entrance to the temple rather than to minor doorways within the building. This is also suggested by the fact that the description of the trīw comes between that of the gardens and that of the flagstaffs, both of which would be more closely associated with the main entrance than with inner doorways. The use of the dual and also the material of which the trīw are made imply that it is the doorleaves which are being described.

Another inscription of the same reign, however, uses the same word for an entire doorway. This text notes the meeting of the knbt-council at the 'r'yt of Pharaoh, in the Southern City (Thebes) beside "hrw-ib hr M3't, the great trī of Ramesses-Miamun."¹⁵ This gateway, the precise location of which is unknown, is also mentioned in another text where it is called a sb3,¹⁶ indicating that sb3 and trī were interchangeable at this date. In such a context trī is unlikely to have referred to the door-leaves alone.

In Papyrus Harris I most of the occurrences of trī can be best

be translated as "door-leaves" since ḥtrw and wmwt are used to describe the door frames and the trīw are made of wood, decorated with precious metals.¹⁷ However in the same papyrus trī is also used of the door frames. For example, the description of work of Ramesses III in the temple of Amun speaks of trīw of granite with sb3w and ḥtrw in gold,¹⁸ sb3w, in this case, being used for the door-leaves.¹⁹ A similar example is found in the temple of Medinet Habu where the trīw were of gold inlaid with precious stones while the door-leaves were decorated with ktmt-gold.²⁰

A final example of trī used to mean an entire doorway occurs in the story of the Two Brothers where the blood of the bull falls beside the two door jambs (bnšw, q,v.) of his majesty, "one on each side of the great trī of Pharaoh."²¹ Other occurrences of the word may also be for the doorway, rather than the door-leaves.²²

Kitchen has suggested that trī is a loan-word from West Semitic dl²³ which would explain the relatively late appearance of the word, in the Nineteenth Dynasty and the varied syllabic writings. With the possible exception of one text,²⁴ trī is used only for monumental doors in either temples or palaces and was probably restricted in use to these large, highly decorated doors.

Like sb3, trī could be used for the entire doorway, the frame or the leaves,²⁵ so each occurrence of trī will have to be judged on its context. Trī does not occur in either demotic or Coptic.

1 Plantikow-Münster, ZÄS 95 (1969), 119, abb.1, b, 6.

2 Erman, ZÄS 17 (1879), 72; Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 8; 50, 12; 67, 1; 67, 13; 68, 4.

3 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 30, 12.

4 Kitchen, JEA 60 (1974), 173, fig.1, 4.

5 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 26, 13; 27, 1.

6 Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, II, 53, d, 4.

7 Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl. XVII, 11.


8 Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 1; 6, 6.

9 KRI, V, 74, 4.

10 Hamada, ASAE 47 (1947), 17, 5.


11 Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., 128, notes z and dd.

12 Yoyotte, Kêmi 14 (1957), 88.

- 13 Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., 128, note dd. For the situation of these two doors see; Barguet, ASAE 50 (1950), 270, C and D; PM, II, pl.XVIII, M. Yoyotte, (loc. cit.) also included as one of the triw "the Upper Gate", the main entrance to the temple (Barguet, op. cit., 270, A).
- 14 Plantikow-Münster, op. cit., 119, abb.1, b, 6.
- 15 Erman, loc. cit..
- 16 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 39, 2; Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 148.
- 17 Erichsen, op. cit., 67, 1; 67, 13; 68, 4. Other examples where tri is probably used for door-leaves include; ibid., 4, 8; 6, 1; 50, 12; Legrain, loc. cit.; Kitchen, loc. cit.. For a discussion of tri in Papyrus Harris I see; Christophe, Melanges Maspero, I, fasc. 4, 23, III, b.
- 18 Erichsen, op. cit., 6, 6.
- 19 See sb3 p.222. One final occurrence of tri in Papyrus Harris I is problematical since, among the door parts, it lists htrw, wmt, sb3w and triw (Erichsen, op. cit., 50, 12).
- 20 KRI, V, 74, 4. For ktmt, a kind of gold, see; Harris, Minerals, 37-38.
- 21 Gardiner, Late Egyptian Stories, 26, 13; 27, 1.
- 22 Hamada, loc. cit.; Gardiner, Chester Beatty I, pl.17, 10 (this is the curious spelling  which Gardiner (Ibid., 38, note 2) takes to be a writing of tri. If so this is the only example where tri does not refer to a monumental door. One final, damaged, writing of tri may occur in P. Anastasi III (Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 30, 12). This was taken by Caminos (Late Egyptian Miscellanies, 106) to be for trt "willow-wood" but this has been refuted by Øsing (Nominalbildung, 635) who prefers to see this as a writing of a compound dw3w-tri, meaning "door-posts". See further under tw3 p. 276.
- 23 Kitchen, op. cit., 170.
- 24 See note 22 above.
- 25 For the dictionary entry for tri see; Wb., V, 318, 14-17.

is impossible to identify the hall. If w3dyt in these two cases reflects the fact that the halls were columned, then one would have little hesitation in identifying the wsht '3t w3dyt of Tuthmosis III with the hall of Tuthmosis I, as was suggested by Barguet¹⁴ who gave a copy, in fount, of the sentence, wsht '3t w3dyt t3w m inr n rwdt which he translated as "grande salle (ou cour) à colonnes....., en pierre de gres." However this would mean that t3w would have to refer to the single-stem papyriiform columns of this hall, which is hardly satisfactory since these were elsewhere called w3dw and the three determinatives of the t3-columns, although indistinct in form, have "closed" capitals.

This feature of the t3w could correspond to either of the sets of papyrus cluster columns behind the Fifth and Sixth Pylons or to the tent-pole columns of the festival hall. The former type is elsewhere called w3d and nhbt¹⁵ so that one would hesitate to suggest that this one column-form could have had a third name, t3.

On the other hand one would have expected the tent-pole columns to have been called '3w since this was the name of the original wooden columns which were reproduced in stone in the festival hall and, in fact, a dedication inscription on one of these columns reads; .¹⁶ As reproduced in Urkunden IV these signs are clearly '3-columns although it is possible, if improbable, that these ideograms were to be read as t3w rather than '3w.

Probably t3w was an alternative name for the tent-pole columns of the festival hall. This would explain why the word has not been found elsewhere¹⁷ as these columns were unique in Egyptian stone architecture.

1 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A Wilson, fig.7, x+3.

2 Ibid., 69-74.

3 Ibid., fig.7, x+2.

4 Ibid., fig.7, x+3.

5 Ibid., 70, II, (3); 71, note d.


6 Ibid., 72, II; PM, II, 92-97; pls.XI, VI; XII, VI; Barguet, Temple, 115-136. For photographs of these columns see Jéquier, Architecture, I, pl.48, 1.

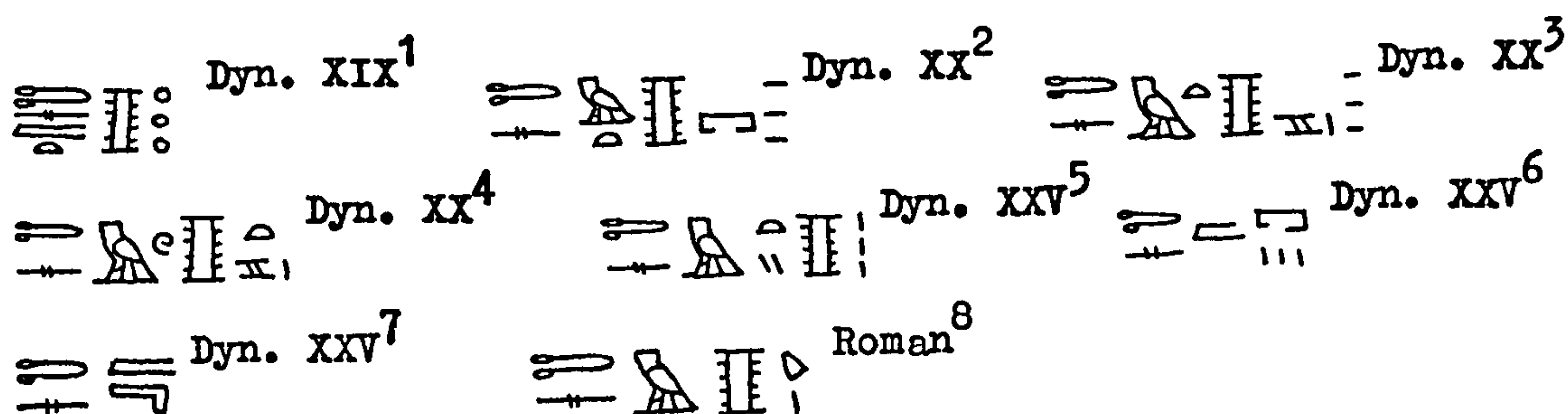
7 Nims, Beiträge Bf. 12, Festschrift Ricke, 107, note 3.

8 PM, II, 110-111; pls.XII, 2; XIII, 1; Barguet, op.cit., 167-182;

For photographs of these columns see; Jéquier, Architecture, I,

pls.49-50.


- 9 For a detailed description of the building projects of Tuthmosis III in the Amun temple see; Borchardt, Baugeschichte, 21-33.
- 10 See the separate entries for each of these words.
- 11 Nims, Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, 70, II, (3).
- 12 Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), 199, n; pl. XVII.
- 13 ibid., 196.
- 14 Barguet, op. cit., 54. Barguet reproduces the determinatives of t3w as ‘3 columns.
- 15 See under each entry.
- 16 Urk., IV, 857.17. The forms of these columns are depicted more accurately in the determinative  of the word hrt-ib (Urk., IV, 856.8 and note c.) which was used to describe the festival hall itself, see above p.192ff.
- 17 There remains the possibility that the t3 sign is an ancient error on the part of either the scribe who composed the text or the mason who transferred it to the wall of the temple. If the sign were to be omitted altogether then the three columns could be taken as the determinatives of w3dyt, indicating the unusual column-type involved.

tsmt

Tsmt occurs, in the plural form, along with 'rwt and tkrw, in Papyrus Harris I, as a part of the enclosure walls of the temples of Inhur,⁹ Wepwawet,¹⁰ Thoth,¹¹ and Osiris.¹² The term is also used in the description of a wall around a well, this time without 'rwt and tkrw.¹³ Tsmwt is not found in relation to the enclosure wall at Medinet Habu. In theory, therefore, tsmt should be the name of an architectural feature which is omitted from the enclosure wall of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, but exists at the other temples. Unfortunately the walls of this king at the other sites have not survived, so the temple plans cannot be compared with the descriptions given in the papyrus.

The excavators at Medinet Habu assumed that both the inner and outer enclosure walls had crenellated ramparts¹⁴ but these do not seem to have been preserved. The possible absence of the crenellations is interesting as Gardiner has suggested that this is the meaning of tsmwt.¹⁵ The main evidence which would support this theory comes from the stela of Pianchi, where the king is besieging the city of Memphis; "His majesty saw that it was strong, the sbty having been raised by new building, the tsmw(t) manned by strong men."¹⁶ However, Traunecker has since suggested that tsmwt were "bastions",¹⁷ a translation which would also fit the Pianchi text, and he has pointed¹⁸ out that there were no bastions on the enclosure walls at Medinet Habu.

The earliest occurrence of this term is of the reign of Merenptah, on the Israel stela, where messengers are described as being sheltered from the heat of the sun by the tsmwt.¹⁹ In the Onomasticon, tsmt occurs between the two major "wall" words, sbty and inb,²⁰ suggesting that it was, in itself, a prominent feature. This writing is in the singular form as is another writing in the Pianchi stela which

has the curious determinative .²¹ Tefnakhte is telling his troops that they will be safe in Memphis; "////// sbty, a great ṯsm(t) has been built, constructed with skillful workmanship."²²

Later in the same dynasty, Montuemhat records the rebuilding of the sbty of the temple of Amun at Karnak, including the re-erection, in brick, of ṯsmwt which have fallen to the ground.²³

Finally, ṯsm(t), again in the singular form, occurs on a stela of the Roman period, describing work carried out at Luxor for the emperor Tiberius.²⁴ Traunecker has pointed out that the Roman wall at Luxor did have bastions.²⁵

The balance of the evidence would seem to support the suggestion that ṯsmt should be translated as "bastion".

1 Spiegelberg, ZAS 34 (1896), 8, 3.

2 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 66, 18; 68, 13; 94, 7-8.

3 Ibid., 67, 12; 68, 4.

4 Gardiner, Onom., pl.XIIA, 6, 1.

5 Wreszinski, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 13 (1910), pl.III, 10 (after p.387).

6 Urk., III, 31, 3.

7 Ibid., III, 29, 15.

8 Daressy, ASAE 19 (1919), 165.

9 Erichsen, op. cit., 66, 18.

10 Ibid., 68, 13.

11 Ibid., 67, 12.

12 Ibid., 68, 4.

13 Ibid., 94, 7-8.

14 Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, IV, 1-3; pl.2.

15 Gardiner, op. cit., II, 213*, 445 .



16 Urk., III, 31, 3.

17 Traunecker, Karnak V, 151-152.

18 Ibid., 151, note 5.

19 Spiegelberg, loc. cit..

20 Gardiner, op. cit., pl.XIIA, 6, 1.


21 The form of this determinative has been checked on the stela in the Cairo Museum and resembles that given in Urk., III, 29, 15, Mariette, Monuments Divers, pl.4, 88 has  while De Rouge, Chrestomathie, IV, 47 gives .

22 Urk., III, 29, 15.

23 Wreszinski, loc. cit..

24 Daressy, loc. cit..

25 Trauneker, op. cit., 151, citing Habachi, ASAE 51 (1951), pl.1
(opposite p. 468).

tkrw
 Dyn. XX¹

Tkrw is only known from Papyrus Harris I where it occurs, always in the plural, in association with 'rwt and tswwt as parts of an enclosure wall (sbty). That of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is described as having only 'rwt and tkrw (of sandstone),² while the other temples have tswwt as well.³ As has been noted above⁴ the outer enclosure wall at Medinet Habu which had turrets straddling the wall and fortified gates at the entrance, was faced with sandstone.⁵

Since 'rt comes from a stem which means "to climb" this term was probably applied to the turrets on the top of the wall, while tkrw, from a semitic stem meaning "to lock"⁶ referred to the gates at the entrance to the enclosure.

1 Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, 4, 11; 66, 18; 67, 12; 68, 4; 68, 13.

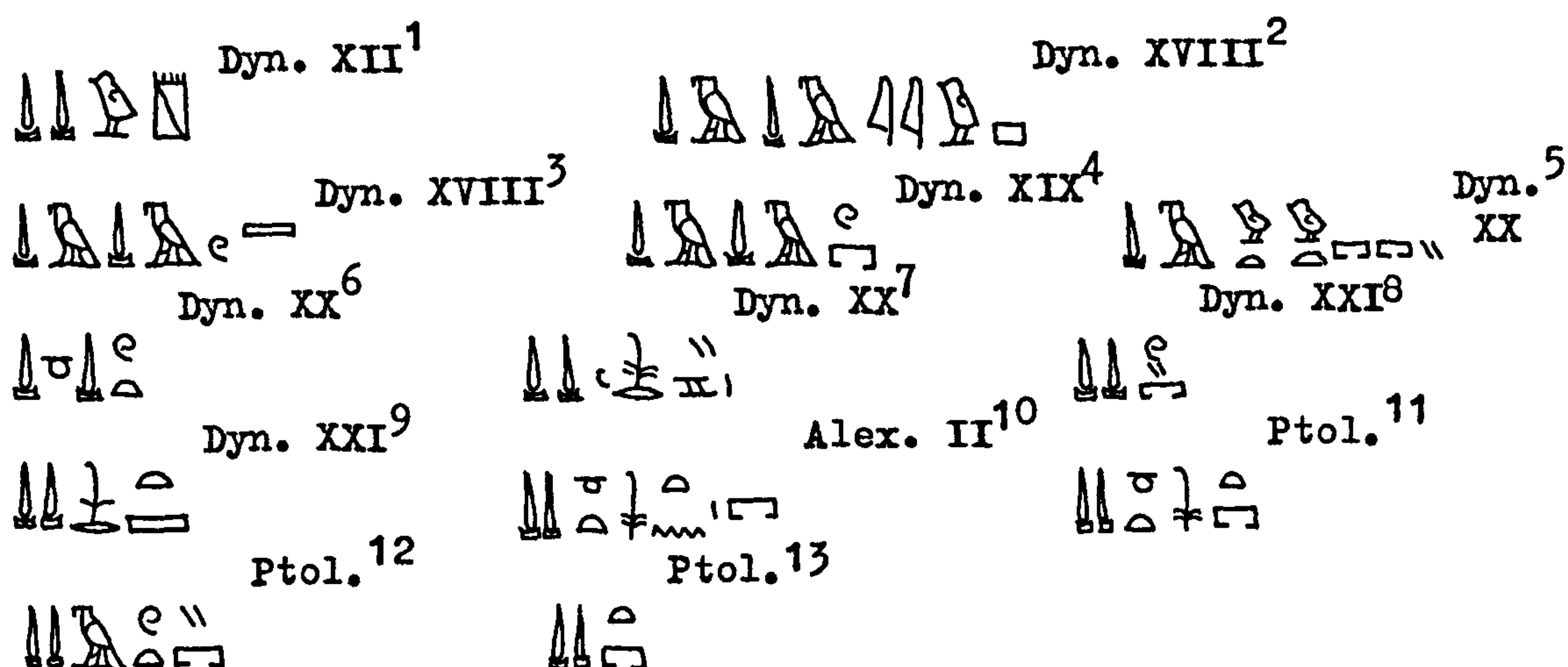
2 Ibid., 4, 11.

3 Ibid., 66, 18; 67, 12; 68, 4; 68, 13.

4 See 'rt, p.39.

5 Hölscher, Exc. Med. Habu, V, 1-3; pl.2.

6 Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3 und 2 Jahrtausend V. Chr., 525, No.297; Burchardt, Fremdworte und Eigennamen, II, 59, 1172.

d3d3

The first point to note concerning d3d3, is that the writings quoted above may not all be variants of the same term. The earliest example, occurs on a granite doorway from Qantir.¹⁴ The door was, apparently, first erected and inscribed by Amenemhat I¹⁵ and was re-inscribed later in the same dynasty, by Sesostriis III.¹⁶ Two identical texts of the latter king, on the jambs, read; "He made as his monument, the erecting of the sb3 of the d3d3w of Amenemhat, by renewing that which¹⁷ his father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehetepibre, had made."

Unfortunately, the noun d3d3w is, on both jambs, inscribed over the joins between the lintel and the jambs, and is, therefore, badly damaged, so that the form of the determinative cannot be confirmed from the photograph. Habachi reads the word as d3d3w, and identifies the building as a "palace", since the doorway does not have either the name of, or a dedicatory inscription to, any god. Bietak¹⁸ transliterates the term, wrongly, as d3dw, and equates it with the noun for a "Beratungs oder Audienzhalle" in the palace.¹⁹

The building in question has not been excavated since the greater part of it lies under a modern village, but a brick wall, three metres thick, led off from either side of the doorway, and limestone blocks were found in the vicinity, one of which showed the king and, presumably, Seshat participating in a foundation ceremony.²⁰ A statue of Amenemhat I, which describes him as "beloved of Ba-neb-djed"²¹ is also said to have been found "lying not far from the stones of the door".²² The block with the foundation ceremony might suggest that d3d3w-Amenemhat was a temple, or a shrine within a temple enclosure,

but the determinative used, and the absence of a deity on the doorway would tend to support Habachi's view that this building was of a secular rather than a religious nature.

It is possible, therefore, that this example of d3d3 ought to be distinguished from the others which refer to temple-buildings. The problem could only be satisfactorily resolved if the Qantir building were to be excavated, and its true nature revealed.

Although the remaining examples of d3d3 are all identifiable as religious structures, few can be actually related to any known buildings. The earliest writing from the New Kingdom occurs on a stela of king Ahmose. "He (made) as his monument, a d3d3 anew, for his father Monthu..."²³ Despite the unusual order of the various elements in this sentence (a more usual order would be; ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f Mntw.....d3d3) there can be no doubt that the d3d3 is the building which has been constructed. This stela is unprovenanced but the fact that the d3d3 is dedicated to "Monthu, Lord of Thebes, who is in the midst of (hry-ib) Armant", would suggest that Armant was its original provenance. One block of Ahmose has been found in the temple at Armant²⁴ and three pieces of limestone relief-work, showing Ahmose²⁵ offering to Monthu, were re-used in the construction of the Bucheum. These blocks may come from the d3d3 of Ahmose, or from the temple to which the d3d3 was attached.



Barguet, who has discussed the meaning of this term in some detail, considers that a d3d3 is a "colonnade" erected before the entrance to a temple, such as those of Taharqa at Karnak.²⁶ The evidence would certainly seem to suggest that a d3d3 was a separate structure situated outside of the main temple building. It is often linked with processions of the god²⁷ and could be positioned on the side of a canal,²⁸ sacred lake²⁹ or quay.³⁰

The only real description of a d3d3 comes from the Nineteenth-Dynasty inscription of Bakenkhons, concerning the Eastern Temple of Ramesses II at Karnak. "Erected obelisks in it (hwt-ntr) in granite, their beauty reaching up to heaven, a d3d3 in front of it (hwt-ntr) in stone, in front of (m [h]f [t]hr n) Thebes."³¹ From this description it can be assumed that the d3d3 stood before the entrance to the temple, on the site now occupied by the colonnade of Taharqa.³² One can only assume that it was some kind of kiosk or peripteral chapel.

Although Barguet is convinced that the Taharqa "colonnades" are d3d3w there is no evidence for this in the texts of the colonnades themselves, so that this identification must remain a matter of speculation. Barguet is not the only writer to have discussed the nature of d3d3w, although none have reached any definite conclusions as to the appearance and function of these structures.³³

The evidence that does exist would suggest that a d3d3 was an edifice within a temple's environs but separate from the main temple-building, and often situated by the side of a canal or lake where it served as a resting-place for the image of the god when in procession. It would, therefore, seem to be most likely that d3d3 was a term for a peripteral chapel.

Despite its frequent use in Ptolemaic, hieroglyphic texts, d3d3 does not appear to have been employed in the contemporary demotic texts. Less surprisingly, it does not recur in Coptic.

- 1 Habachi, ASAE 52 (1954), 451; pl.IV.
- 2 Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings, I, pl.1, 1.
- 3 Hayes, JEA 46 (1960), pl.XA, 8, 1.
- 4 Plantikow-Münster, ZÄS 95 (1969), 119, abb.1b, 5.
- 5 Marciniak, Deir El-Bahari, I, pl.XI, A, 7.
- 6 Mariette, Karnak, pl.40, 7.
- 7 Gardiner, Ramesside Administrative Documents, 62, 12.
- 8 Brugsch, Reise nach der Grossen Oase El-Khargeh, pl.XXII, 9.
- 9 Barguet, Temple, 36 (Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report, 1906-1907, 21-22).
- 10 Barguet, Le Papyrus N.3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre, 20, 1; 20, 7; 22, 1.
- 11 Chassinat, Edfou, V, 350, 6; 351, 1; Alliot, Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées, 266-267, takes this to be for d3d3 nsw (also writing 12). However, see Gardiner, ZÄS 73 (1937), 74.
- 12 Dümichen, Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera, pl.XVII, depicts the bird as , as does Brugsch, Thesaurus, 365. However, Mariette, Denderah, I, pl.62, g, h and i, shows the bird as a , and this is followed by Alliot, loc. cit.. These writings are, unfortunately, in the part of the temple not yet re-published by Chassinat.
- 13 Sauneron, Esna, III, 11, 197, 18.

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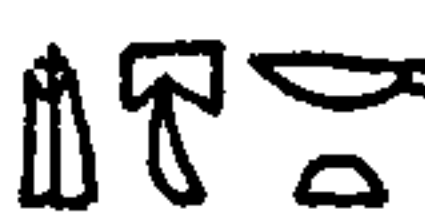
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